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THE CONTACT OF CULTURES IN INDIA

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I HAVE often thought that the most astonishing thing in history is the association of Great Britain and India. It is an association which has joined a people of 50,000,000, living on a foggy island in the Atlantic, beyond the north-western verge of Europe, with a multitudinous people of over 350,000,000, living on a sun-baked sub-continent in southern Asia, between the snowy giants of the Himalayas and the soft breezes of Ceylon. It is an association which began, three centuries ago, in trade; which extended itself, a century and a half ago (let us say, from the battle of Plassey in 1757), to politics; which finally, over a century ago, from the days of Macaulay's famous minute of 1835, or even earlier, began to throw down its roots in the field of education and culture. There have been similar associations in the course of history. There was the association of ancient Rome with our own island, and with other parts of Europe and of hither Asia, which lasted until the latter half of the fifth century of our era. There was the association of the Christian Franks of western Europe with the Moslem inhabitants of Syria, during the epoch of the Crusades, from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the thirteenth century. There was the association of the Spaniards and the Portuguese with a great part of

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the continent of America, from the early part of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth. These are all analogous; and yet they are also different. The association of Great Britain and India is deeper and of a different quality. It is deeper because it has rooted itself, and may root itself still more, in the field of the mind. It is different in quality because it is already becoming, and will become even more, a free association, an association of two democratic polities, the one derived from the inspiration of the other, but either of them in the long run—either of them sooner or later (and better sooner than later)—the equal of the other. This basis of liberty and of equality, and this knitting of cultural bonds, which is all the easier and the more natural on such a basis, are the hope of the continuance, and I would even venture to say the permanence, of the association.

It is of such cultural bonds that I now desire to speak. At the end of last year, while I was in India, I received a letter from an old Indian pupil, now high in the service of his country, which contained a memorable phrase. "India is much more likely to be kept within the British Commonwealth of Nations by cultural than by political bonds." At the beginning of this year, while I was still in India, I received another letter from a distinguished Indian professor of philosophy, who had taken the chair at a lecture which I had given on "the Conception of Empire." Referring to a phrase I had used, that Great Britain and India could give infinitely to each other, he said, "I am not one of those (and they are, as yet, very few even in India) who wish that the connexion between the two countries should be severed utterly. I wish that connexion to become stronger. I earnestly and sincerely hold that those whom God has joined together no man should put asunder. But I equally strenuously hold that the joining together should be by the true God, the supreme spirit of mutual love, mutual affection, both-sided help and co-operation, and not by the adversary of God, the enemy of man, the spirit of one-sided exploitation.

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I have repeatedly pleaded for the establishment of a genuine and sincere British-Indian or Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations, as contra-distinguished from a British Empire." These were his words; and he clinched them by adding that were such a thing done—did the 350 millions of India stand shoulder to shoulder with the 50 millions of Britain—the world would perforce imitate the ideal and the practice of such an obviously beneficent Commonwealth.

I have quoted an Indian administrator, and I have quoted an Indian professor of philosophy. What is to be said of the dream or the hope (I prefer to call it a hope) of a British-Indian or Indo-British Commonwealth knit together by cultural and spiritual as well as political bonds? Is our Western culture too dissonant from the old and traditional culture (or cultures) of India for any harmonious marriage and for mutual giving and taking? Or is it possible for India to achieve, with our co-operation, a blend between the two? That, at any rate, was the hope expressed by the Viceroy when he inaugurated the jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta two months ago. India, he said, had need of the science and the scientific method of the West; but while she borrowed she might also lend, or rather give, contributing to the refinements and the utilities of Western science that ultimate simplicity of outlook, and that sense of ultimate spiritual values, which are native to Indian thought.

Let us look at the facts, or some of the facts, which bear on the problem. In 1813, some twenty years before any grant of public money for education was given in England, Parliament instructed the East India Company that at least a lac of rupees (or £7,500) should be devoted annually to the encouragement of education in its territories. After Macaulay's minute of 1835 (though that was by no means the only cause of the policy) it became the rule that higher education (outside the primary vernacular schools) should be encouraged through the teaching of Western subjects in the English language. This was the great beginning of the con-

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tact of cultures in India. Henceforth the English language, carrying Western subjects on the stream of its course, flowed through the higher schools, and ultimately the universities, of all India. The flow became channelled and diffused (like that of the irrigation canals which carry waters from the great rivers into the thirsty Indian plains) after the year 1854, when the Government of India undertook the duty of providing, and began to construct the channels and the machinery for providing, a regular system of education from the primary school to the university. High schools grew; universities arose; and along these channels ran the English language, carrying Western subjects, the social and political ideas of the West, and the general argosy of Western culture. The channels might be imperfect; the flow of the waters might be thin; but the general process of diffusion was, and is, and will continue to be, a process of vast significance.

To-day the English language, with all the ideas and the associations which it conveys, is the language of many places and activities in India. It is the language of the universities; only in the Osmania University at Hyderabad, so far as I know, is one of the two forms of Hindustani used as the language of instruction. It is the general language of the high schools; and if nationalists contend that these schools ought to use the vernacular as the general medium of instruction, they also admit that English should be a compulsory subject. English is even studied in some primary schools; I brought away from a village school which I visited in Bengal a little primer of English which was part of the stock of the school. English is, of course, the language of administration; but it is also the language of parliaments and even of political parties. The variety of Indian vernacular languages conspires to make English a natural and a necessary *lingua franca*. It is thus the general language of debate in legislative assemblies; it is also widely used in the meetings of the Congress Party; it is the language of learned bodies and of scientific gatherings such as the Indian Science Congress.

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It is indeed the language of a few—perhaps of a very few. Only a tenth of the population of India is literate in any language—literate in the sense of being able to write a short letter and to read the reply to it, which is perhaps a high standard of literacy. Only a small fraction of this tenth is literate in English; so far as I know it is one-fifteenth—one-fifteenth of a tenth of the whole population of India. But in a country so vast and so populous one-fifteenth of a tenth is as much as two and a half millions; and the two and a half millions of Indians who are literate in English count, and exert an influence, out of proportion to their numbers. It is not only that they are a guiding élite. There is more in question than that. They are solid with the rest of India, and they carry over into the rest of India the available and usable essence—the essence available and usable for India, in this hour of her growth and in the present temper of her mind—of all that they have received. “Here,” as it is written in the Simon Report, “is a body of men, educated, working, and, in many instances, thinking in an alien Western language, imbibing with that education the principles and traditions of a Western civilization and polity, and yet keenly conscious of its unity with the mass of the Indian people, whose minds are set in the immemorial traditions of the East.” A great orb of fate is laid on the shoulders of these men.

We may pause for a moment to consider what they and the English language they use, and the general ideas they have learnt from the use of that language, have already given to India. One gift, unless I am mistaken, is the gift of national unity. The authors of the Simon Report quote, and by quoting they endorse, the statement that “national and public life in India began with the spread of English.” The word “nation” is a word of the English vocabulary, and Indians who have used that vocabulary, learned that word, and imbibed that idea have served as the focus and I would even say the constructors of Indian nationality.

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Another gift is the gift of the conception, which is now becoming also the practice, of self-government and democracy. The Western culture which has been brought to India on the stream of the English language has inevitably carried this conception. It has not only carried the conception of democratic forms and democratic machinery; it has also carried the conception of the democratic spirit—the spirit which not only claims liberty, but also accepts and shoulders responsibility, the great corollary and consequence of all true liberty; the spirit which is ready to debate with the other side, not in order merely to criticize or to gain a logical victory, but in order to discover the weaknesses as well as the strength of its own case and the strength as well as the weaknesses of the other; the spirit which is willing to agree in the way with the adversary (because the adversary after all has also his measure of truth), and will not therefore eschew or abominate any compromise. Nothing has struck me more in the recent history of India, since the passage of the last Government of India Act, than the growing sense of responsibility, the growing gravity of debate, the growing readiness for that give and take which is the mother of genuine co-operation. Before we condemn the introduction of “English education” into India, or make merry with Macaulay’s minute of 1835, we must pause and think of the long, long train of consequences which have ensued upon that policy during the last hundred years.

I am not concerned with English government in India, or with the injuries it has inflicted or the blessings it has brought. That is not my theme, and in any case India is assuming, and will increasingly assume, the responsibility for her own government. My theme is the carrying of Western culture into India through the medium of the English language. It is a theme which does not so much concern the action of Englishmen in India (though I shall have something to say of them and their duties presently) as it concerns the use and the influence of the English language. I have already argued

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that the carrying of Western culture to India, through the medium of English, was a carrying of political consequences which seem to me generally good. I now want to turn that argument round, and to contend that the preservation and development of those political consequences—the spirit of nationality and the spirit and practice of self-government—demand the preservation and the development of Western culture in India as their necessary concomitant. You cannot have the political consequences and corollaries unless you keep them against the background, and in the setting, of the culture from which they have come. This is not an argument in favour of keeping India in dependence on the West. It implies no idea of such dependence. Nor is it an argument in favour of an exclusive Western culture in India. It only implies the retention and the cultivation of Western culture side by side with the indigenous culture of India, and in so far as it can co-exist harmoniously with that culture. Within those limits, and to that extent, Western culture seems to me not only a gain, but also a necessity, for India. It provides a *lingua franca* and a common basis of national unity for the whole of India. It provides the stimulus and the suggestion of Western social and political ideas and Western scientific achievement. Its retention is a necessity if that basis, that stimulus, and that suggestion are to be retained.

There are those, however, who doubt both in England and in India whether the introduction of English education and the importation of Western culture have not been, from the first, a mistake. Those who take this view contend (I am once more quoting from the Simon Report) “that Western methods and objectives have precluded the growth of an indigenous culture expressive of and responsive to the different types of native genius”; they ask “whether a reorientation of the whole educational system is not required both in the figurative and in the literal sense of the word.” It is a grave question, which permits no ready answer. When one has

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visited in the same day the Golden and the Durga temples of Benares, thronged with excited Hindu worshippers, and then the University of Benares, with its crowds of English-educated and English-speaking students, one wonders whether these two things—on the one hand the temple-shrine, on the other hand the laboratory and the class-room—can dwell together in unity. Yet they do, in fact, dwell together. Within the University, and side by side with its class-rooms, there is even now being built a Hindu temple. It is possible, after all, for two cultures to live and act in one mind. Bengal has a poet and dramatist called Rabindranath Tagore. I believe that he writes finely in Bengali, but that I cannot judge; I know that he writes finely in English. We in England are not bilingual; but bilingualism is often a fact, and it is a fact which does not appear to be a handicap to the countries in which it exists. The man who can think in two languages may even have an advantage over the man who can think only in one. The Welsh-speaking Welshman, as we all know, may also be a great English orator and statesman. Ambidexterity means physical agility, and bilingualism may also mean an alert and vivacious mind. Bengali vernacular literature may flourish, and flourish abundantly, even if the universities of Bengal educate their students in English. Universities are not everything, and the language of the heart may still be used, and be used even more effectively, where there is a different language of the brain.

We may thus assume—not as something proved, but at any rate as something possible, or even probable—that biculturalism (if that word may be used) can be a benefit, and may be a blessing, for India. But if it is actually to be a blessing and a benefit, there is one prime necessity. It is a necessity on the English or Western side of the account, with which alone I am here concerned, because I am ignorant of the other. It is a necessity that the English or Western element in the bicultural system should be as good as it can be of its kind, and should reach its highest possible point. It is here that a

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real defect begins to loom into view. The Western element, as things are, is not as good as it might be; it does not, in the present position of Indian education, reach its highest possible point. We need not seek to apportion blame, or attempt to determine whether the West has failed to give adequately to India, or India has failed to take adequately from the West. All that is necessary is to understand the defect, and to attempt to set it right in an honest and equal collaboration.

The cardinal defect is perhaps to be found in the condition of the Indian universities. They are overcrowded. This has partly been due to the influence of an alien rule, which has induced the ambitious and the intelligent to rush to the universities, because the universities are the avenue leading to the prestige and pay of membership in the governing bureaucracy; it has also been partly due to a native tradition which inclined the members of what may be called the "clerkly" caste to seek a clerkly career and to frequent, for that purpose, the new and promising path of the modern university. In any case, and whatever the cause, the fact of overcrowding is indubitable. In 1912 there were over 36,000 students in Indian universities and institutions of higher learning; in 1932, twenty years later, there were over 105,000. The increase is one of nearly 300 per cent.; the result, it has been calculated, is that there is one student in India for every 360 of the *literate* population, as compared with one student in England (if we reckon only those students in English universities who are domiciled in the British Isles) for every 1,520 of a *total* population subject to compulsory education and therefore presumably literate.¹ These figures corroborate the old "complaint," as it is called in the Simon Report, that "the system of public education in India is top-heavy." Bengal, at the time of that Report, was spending more on university than on primary education; and the Unemployment Inquiry Committee of the province,

¹ If we take the total population of India, the proportion of the student body to that population is about one in 3,350.

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in 1924, compared the general provincial system of education, from the beginning of the high school up to the university, to a bamboo in which "each joint was an examination and the diameter remained practically the same size from the root to very near the top."¹

The quantity of students in universities, of itself and by itself, has an influence on the quality of the work of universities. An excessive quantity necessarily depresses the standard of teaching attainable, and that in turn necessarily depresses the standard of examination. The general policy of the teaching of Western subjects through the medium of English in Indian universities, and the general ideal, behind that policy, of instituting a true and genuine biculturalism, have thus been impeded and thwarted by the movement of masses of students into the universities. Meanwhile another movement—entirely good in itself but none the less raising a problem by its incidental results—has also been at work. There was a time when English teachers were active in Indian colleges and universities. They have left fine memories behind them, as I can testify from talks I have had with men who had once been their pupils. (There is nobody in the world who is more generous than an Indian in his appreciation of his teachers.) But a change inevitably began after the Government of India Act of 1919. In 1921 education became a transferred subject in the provinces. In 1924 recruitment for the Indian Educational Service on an all-India basis came to an end, and future recruitment was left to the provincial governments. The old method of recruitment had brought many Europeans to India; the new method, though of course it does not debar the provincial authorities from recruiting Europeans, naturally and inevitably tends to the Indianization of the Educational Service and the general educational staff. In one of its aspects this is a change which is all to the good. In another aspect it raises a real problem. If the teaching of Western subjects through the medium of

¹ Quoted in W. M. Kotschnig's book on *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*, p. 325.

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English is entirely managed and entirely conducted by those who know of the West at second hand, may it not become unreal, or formal, or artificial, and may it not fail to produce the true and general biculturalism which alone is really worth while?

This is a difficult and delicate question. I do not desire for one moment or for one fraction of a second to reintroduce English control, or even English guidance, by the back door of education. I do not wish for a moment to decry the good and fine work which is being done by Indian professors in Indian universities. I have met in the Indian universities old pupils, trained in Oxford or Cambridge or London, who have the root of scholarship in them. I have talked with their pupils, who are being trained as I should wish them to be trained. I would not claim any special rights, and still less any intellectual superiority, for Englishmen in this field. My only feeling—and I must express it honestly and frankly—is the feeling that the teaching of Western subjects through the medium of English, and the foundation thereby of a true and genuine biculturalism, demands a constant recurrence to the fountain. It demands a coming of Indians to the West. It also demands, I think, a going of those of us who belong to the West to India, in order to serve and to help in a great cultural process which we began over a century ago and which we cannot desert. This is not a question of the rights of Englishmen. It is a question of their duties—their duties to India: their duties to an unfinished work which has still to be carried on.

The European population in India is small. In 1921 it was only a little over 150,000. Some of it is absorbed in business; a large part of it (there are some 60,000 British troops in India) is absorbed in military duties; there is little of it left to serve as a fountain of Western culture and native English speech. India, under present conditions, is largely left to itself in facing the serious problem of maintaining a double culture. The problem is not so serious in the realm

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of natural science (which is much the same everywhere and can be cultivated everywhere by much the same methods) as it is in the sphere of the humanities. In subjects such as history, literature, economics, and politics, when they are taught as Western subjects by Western methods and in a Western language, it is essential to maintain a living contact with the West—at any rate in our present epoch, which is still, for this purpose, an initial epoch, and until the new epoch comes in which India has established her own high and permanent standards on the Western side of her double life of the mind. That epoch will come in the process of time. For the moment and in the present conjuncture the Western side of the river of intellectual life runs somewhat thin. The crowding of the universities, the Indianization of the educational service and staff, and the small volume of European residents, who are mainly concentrated either in cantonments or in commercial centres—all these factors combine to produce this temporary result. The great and arduous effort of biculturalism has no fair chance. Western subjects are studied at a remove; the English language itself is often taught by Indians who have learned it in turn from Indians, and it ceases to be quite itself. It is not always easy to follow the English which one hears spoken by students. Indeed it is said that many students are unable to follow lectures owing to defective knowledge of the language in which they are given.

India will cure these defects for herself so far as it lies in her power. They are recognized; they are deplored; the vice-chancellors of Indian universities, and the leaders of Indian educational thought, are resolved on the reform and the improvement of the higher education of India. But there is a duty laid upon us in this island—an obvious and bounden duty—to help India to help herself. Those who are struggling to absorb and assimilate the best of Western culture require and deserve the collaboration of the West.

There are three ways in which we can collaborate. There

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may be more; but three are obvious. The first way is that of accepting and welcoming in our universities the students who come from India to get from us what we can give. This is not an easy matter. We need our universities for our own students; we can only admit a fraction from India. But generosity in this matter would also be, in the long run, wisdom. What our English teachers have given to their Indian pupils is not only repaid by the generosity of their affection: it also bears interest a thousandfold when it is given by them in turn to their own pupils in India. That is one way. Another and a second way is that English teachers should seek and volunteer to spend a period of their teaching service in Indian colleges and universities. It need not be the whole of a life; it might well be, as I am inclined to think would be best, a period of short service for some five or seven years. That would ensure greater freshness; it might also ensure a larger flow. It would be the corollary, and indeed the condition, of such a method that Indian authorities should seek to recruit teachers from the West on special contracts for such periods of short service. They may well be willing to do so. "For better or worse," as it is said in the Simon Report (I should hope that it is certainly "for better") "European standards and methods of education have been adopted in British India, and to say that for some time to come the experience of Europeans will be necessary for their effective application implies no reflection on the capacity of Indians to assimilate and profit by that experience and eventually to dispense with it."

There remains a third way—perhaps not the least important of the three—which was suggested to my mind by the experience I had lately as a member of the delegation from the British Association which went to India this winter and joined with the Indian Science Congress in its jubilee conference in Calcutta. During our stay we visited several Indian universities; some of our number lectured before them; some of us had discussions with the vice-Chancellors

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of the universities and with the professors and other members of the staff who were concerned with our subjects. I feel that I cannot exaggerate the value of such contacts. I therefore desire to plead that ways and means should be found for making such contacts regular and for ensuring that some of the established teachers of our universities and some of the established leaders of our intellectual life outside the universities should visit Indian universities and institutions of higher learning, should address their students, and should enter into discussion and consultation with their staff. We have now a regular system of intellectual intercourse, fostered by a variety of means, with the United States of America. We have also, in the British Council, an organ intended to make our life and thought more widely known in Europe, to encourage the study and use of our language in foreign countries and in the dependent Empire, and to co-operate with the self-governing Dominions in strengthening the common cultural traditions of the Commonwealth. Is it not also necessary, in view of the great association between Great Britain and India and in view of the great Indian attempt to establish a bicultural system—is it not, indeed, particularly necessary—to establish a regular organ, and a special organ, for the purpose of fostering intellectual intercourse between Great Britain and India?

I cannot but answer that question in the affirmative. I will not attempt to describe the nature of the foundation of which I dream. It would be a voluntary foundation, though it might well be aided by Government both in Great Britain and India; it would be a foundation based on the contributions of all who believe in the great experiment of Indo-British association, cultural as well as political; it would be a foundation in the working of which the universities of Great Britain and India were intimately concerned. It would be its object to send mature scholars from Great Britain to India and to bring mature scholars from India to Great Britain. It would establish a body of knowledge and

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sympathy in either country in regard to the problems and achievements of the other; it would be a link not of Empire, but of that give and take of the mind—that intellectual charity, if I may use the word “charity” in a good old sense—which is the firmest and strongest of bonds and the true heart and core of human progress. When I use this word “charity” I am driven back to Shakespeare and to some words of Shakespeare which have often come into my mind when I have dreamed of what the connexion between Britain and India may be and of how it may become a giving and taking which enriches both giver and taker, because either is giver and either is taker and both are the gainers from giving and taking.

My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
My love as deep; the more I give to thee,
The more I have, for both are infinite.

CHILDLESS MARRIAGES

By R. R. KUCZYNSKI

I. CENSUSES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

THE best opportunity of ascertaining the incidence of childlessness (involuntary or voluntary sterility) among women who are or have been married is a general census. Attempts in this direction have been made in:

Massachusetts, 1875 and 1885; United States of America, 1890, 1900, and 1910;

New South Wales and Victoria, 1891; Australia, 1911 and 1921;

France, 1906, 1911, 1921, 1926, 1931, and 1936;

England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1911;

New Zealand, 1911, 1916, 1921, and 1936;

Norway, 1920 and 1930;

Holland, 1920 and 1930;

Spain, 1920 and 1930;

Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 1921 and 1926; Northern Rhodesia, 1921 and 1931;

Estonia, 1922 and 1934;

Czechoslovakia, 1930;

Italy, 1931;

Germany, 1933.¹

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

At the 1875 census of Massachusetts the "Family Schedule" contained a question "Number of children borne by women" which was to be answered for every female (single, married, widowed, and divorced). The published tables showed the following data about women who had never borne a child²:

Native-born and foreign-born females by marital condition in each county, city, and town.

Women who are or have been married, by age, in each county, city, and town.

Women who are or have been married, by age and birthplace.

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Only 440 spinsters were reported as mothers. In this respect the inquiry was certainly most defective. It seems, however, that the entries were inadequate also for many women who were or had been married. This is particularly true of older women. It may suffice to mention that the proportion of women who were reported as childless was 14 per cent. for those who were 31 to 45 years of age but 25 per cent. for those above 46. Presumably, all women for whom the question about the number of children was not answered were considered as childless. It seems useless, therefore, to reproduce here any of the results.

At the 1885 census of Massachusetts, "Schedule No. 1, Population and Social Statistics," contained the following questions to be answered for each married, widowed, and divorced woman:

Mother of how many children?

Number of these children now living?

The census report contained the following data about childless women who were or had been married³:

Native-born and foreign-born women in each county, city, and town.
Women by age and birthplace.

The married women numbered 371,129, the widows 97,158, and those divorced 1,919. The proportion of childless women (married, widowed, or divorced) was 17.6 per cent.; 20.2 for the native-born, and 13.3 per cent. for the foreign-born. The incidence of childlessness was particularly rare among the women born in French Canada. The percentage of childless women over 50 was 4.0 for those born in French Canada, 9.3 for those born in other foreign countries, and 13.5 for those born in the United States.⁴

The number of children born was not ascertained at any later State census.

At the 1890 census of the United States the "Family Schedule" contained the following questions:

Whether married during the census year (June 1, 1889, to May 31, 1890).

Mother of how many children and number of these children living.

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TABLE I
CHILDLESS WOMEN BY AGE AND NATIVITY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1885

Years of Age.	Childless Women.			Total Women.			Childless per cent.		
	Native-born.	Foreign-born.	Total.	Native-born.	Foreign-born.	Total.	Native-born.	Foreign-born.	Total.
13-19	1,888	712	2,600	3,207	1,175	4,382	58.9	60.6	59.3
20-29	19,091	7,747	26,838	59,902	30,818	90,720	31.9	25.1	29.6
30-39	14,354	5,626	19,980	70,917	45,821	116,738	20.2	12.3	17.1
40-49	9,845	4,564	14,409	56,567	44,472	101,039	17.4	10.3	14.3
50-59	6,348	2,928	9,276	43,028	31,507	74,535	14.8	9.3	12.4
60-79	6,498	2,000	8,498	51,033	23,040	74,073	12.7	8.7	11.5
80-	817	132	949	6,879	1,808	8,687	11.9	7.3	10.9
Unknown	9	2	11	21	11	32	—	—	—
Total	58,850	23,711	82,561	291,554	178,652	470,206	20.2	13.3	17.6

TABLE II
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE, NEW SOUTH WALES, 1901

Duration of Marriage Years.	Childless.		Per cent.
	Childless.	Total.	
0-4	14,473	41,069	35.2
5-9	4,052	35,340	11.5
10-14	2,857	33,593	8.5
15-19	1,964	26,989	6.8
20-24	1,298	21,057	6.2
25-29	745	14,902	5.0
30-	1,067	26,199	4.1
Unknown	73	892	8.2
Total	26,529	201,951	13.1
10-	7,931	124,650	6.4

TABLE III
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE, AUSTRALIA, 1911

Duration of Marriage Years.	Childless.		Per cent.
	Childless.	Total.	
0-4	51,446	140,011	36.7
5-9	16,413	128,142	12.8
10-14	11,230	107,300	10.5
15-19	6,729	79,804	8.4
20-24	5,183	70,524	6.8
25-29	3,574	61,621	5.8
30-39	3,412	67,947	5.0
40-	1,424	35,453	4.0
Unknown	2,513	21,151	11.9
Total	101,924	717,953	14.2
10-	31,552	428,649	7.4

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The latter inquiry, according to the "Instructions to Enumerators," was "to be made concerning all women who are or have been married, including those widowed or divorced."

At the 1900 census the Population Schedule, which provided entries for 100 persons, contained the following headings:

Number of years married	Mother of how many children	Number of these children living
----------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------------

The questions about children were again to be answered by all women who were or had been married.

At the 1910 census the "Population Schedule," which likewise provided entries for 100 persons, contained the following headings:

Number of years of present marriage	Mother of how many children		
	<table style="display: inline-table; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Number born</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Number now living</td> </tr> </table>	Number born	Number now living
Number born	Number now living		

The results of these inquiries were never published, and the schedules of the censuses of 1920 and 1930 did not ask for the number of children.

AUSTRALIA

At a Conference of Statisticians held at Sydney, to arrange for the collection and compilation of the Australasian Census of 1901 upon a uniform principle, it was resolved "That, with reference to conjugal condition, it be optional with each colony to make inquiry as to the year of marriage, and the total number of children (living or dead) born of each couple." ⁵ New South Wales and Victoria followed this recommendation, but Victoria did not publish the results. ⁶ The census report of New South Wales gave the following data about childless married persons: ⁷

Husbands and wives by age.

Wives by age and duration of marriage.

Wives by age at marriage.

Wives by age, and religion of wife and husband.

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Wives by age, religion, and duration of marriage.
Wives by age, and birthplace of wife and husband.
Wives by age, duration of marriage, and birthplace.
Wives up to 50 years by age of wife and husband.

The tables covered 201,951 wives and thus comprised 97·9 per cent. of the married women and 83·4 per cent. of those who were or had been married (206,319 wives, 35,229 widows, 708 divorced). The 4,368 wives not included had not stated the number of their children. Omissions were apparently more frequent among those who had married late.

The proportion of childless wives was 13·1 per cent. Among the women who had been married over 10 years the proportion was 6·4 per cent.

Among the wives under 45 who were married for over 20 years the proportion of the childless was only 2·5 per cent.

At the 1911 census of Australia the "Personal Card" contained the following questions:

Date of existing marriage: Year
Number of Children (living and dead) from existing Marriage
Number of Children (living and dead) from previous Marriage

The last question was to be answered by married, widowed, and divorced persons. Still-born children were not to be included in the number of children. It is doubtful to what extent legitimized children were actually included.⁸

The census report gave the following data about childless persons (exclusive of full-blood aboriginals)⁹ :

Husbands and wives by States and Territories.
Husbands by age.
Wives by age; by religion; by birthplace; by duration of existing marriage.

The tables covered 733,773 wives and thus comprised practically all married women and 84·9 per cent. of those who were or had been married (733,907 wives, 128,090 widows, 2,140 divorced). But 15,820 of the 733,773 wives had not stated the number of their children. However, the

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age was given for 15,477 of them, and the duration of marriage for 12,073. It appears that the omission of the number of children was more frequent for the older than for the younger wives, but at the same time more frequent for the wives who had been married for less than 10 years than for those who had been married for over 10 years.

The proportion of wives who had had a child neither from the existing nor from a previous marriage (89,064) was 12·4 per cent., while the proportion of those who had not had a child from the existing marriage was 14·2 per cent. Among the women who had been married over 10 years to their present husbands the proportion of wives who had no child from their present marriage was 7·4 per cent.

At the 1921 census of Australia the "Personal Slip" contained the following questions:

If married, give date of existing marriage: Day Month
Year

Give number of completed years of existing marriage: years.

Give number of children from existing marriage: Living Dead.....

Number of children from any previous marriages: Living Dead

.....

According to the instructions for the guidance of the persons responsible for furnishing the information, the last question was to be answered by married, widowed, and divorced persons. Still-born were not to be included in the number of children.

The census report gave only the following data about childless persons (exclusive of full-blood aboriginals)¹⁰:

Husbands and wives by States and Territories.

Husbands and wives by age.

The tabulations were confined to the husbands and wives enumerated in the same dwelling on census night. They covered 853,107 wives and thus comprised only 85·2 per cent. of the married women and only 72·9 per cent. of those who were or had been married (1,001,383 wives, 164,868 widows, and 4,304 divorced). The proportion of wives

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who had had a child neither from the existing nor a previous marriage (131,126) was 15·4 per cent. This would indicate a large increase since 1911, when the proportion was only 12·4 per cent. A slight part of this apparent increase, it is true, was probably due to the fact that among the wives whose husbands were absent and who were excluded in 1921, though they were included in 1911, the number of older women was comparatively large.¹¹ But the classification of the childless wives by age groups shows that their proportion was greater in 1921 throughout.

TABLE IV
CHILDLESS WIVES BY AGE, AUSTRALIA, 1911 AND 1921

Years of Age.	Childless. 1911.	Total. 1911.	Per cent. 1911.	Childless. 1921.	Total. 1921.	Per cent. 1921.
-19 . . .	3,288	8,284	39·7	3,411	7,400	46·1
20-24 . . .	16,021	63,316	25·3	21,863	67,869	32·2
25-29 . . .	17,944	106,155	16·9	27,192	128,475	21·2
30-34 . . .	13,170	109,511	12·0	19,715	142,549	13·8
35-39 . . .	10,276	101,531	10·1	14,833	126,902	11·7
40-44 . . .	8,590	92,614	9·3	12,552	105,313	11·9
45-49 . . .	6,795	79,897	8·5	10,409	84,264	12·4
50-54 . . .	4,761	59,537	8·0	8,377	69,258	12·1
55-59 . . .	2,969	36,711	8·1	5,636	52,123	10·8
60-64 . . .	2,086	24,222	8·6	3,538	35,383	10·0
65-69 . . .	1,355	16,162	8·4	1,829	18,098	10·1
70- . . .	1,228	14,581	8·4	1,450	13,295	10·9
Unknown . . .	581	5,432	10·7	321	2,178	14·7
Total . . .	89,064	717,953	12·4	131,126	853,107	15·4

The increase in the proportion of childless wives among those of child-bearing age may have been due to the spread of birth-control. But I find it impossible to offer a plausible explanation for the increase in the proportion of childless wives in the older age groups. Why, for instance, was the proportion of childless wives between 60 and 70 in 1921 so much larger than the proportion of childless wives between 50 and 60 in 1911? The situation is so puzzling that I doubt whether the increase in the incidence of childlessness between 1911 and 1921 was actually as great as indicated by the statistics.

The tabulation of the results was much less comprehensive in 1921 than in 1911. In 1933, the question about the

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number of children was omitted altogether from the census forms.

FRANCE

At each census from 1906 on, the personal slip (*Bulletin individuel*) contained questions about the duration of marriage and the number of children born, still living, and dead. The question about the duration of marriage read:

1906. For how many years have you been married? . . .

1911, 1921, 1926, 1931, 1936. In which year were you married? . . .

(Indicate, if such is the case, the years of the successive marriages.)

The question about the number of children read:

1906, 1911, 1921. How many children have you had? . . . Still living? . . . Dead (excluding still-born)? . . .

1926, 1931, 1936. How many live-born children have you had? . . . Still living? . . . Dead (excluding still-born)? . . .

The questions about the number of children were only to be answered by persons who were or had been married and apparently were to cover only legitimate children (and throughout only live-born children).

The census report for 1906 gave the following data about people with no live-born child¹²:

(1) Husbands, (2) widowers and divorced men, and (3) widows, by age; by occupation; by provinces (*Départements*).

Husbands by occupation and duration of marriage.

Percentages of childless husbands by duration of marriage.

(1) Husbands, (2) widowers and divorced men, and (3) widows, of 55 to 65 years of age, by occupation.

Heads of families (husbands, widowers, divorced men, and widows), by occupation.¹³

Wherever the dates of successive marriages were recorded, the date of the first marriage was used in computing the duration of marriage, "but it is by no means certain that the persons married several times have always stated the dates of the successive marriages."¹⁴ There were, moreover, numerous cases in which the duration of marriage was not given at all.

The statistics were based mainly on the forms filled in by

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men because the cases where the age or the marital condition was not stated were less numerous for men than for women (114,163 as against 165,881) and because the information regarding the number of children showed fewer gaps in the forms of the men than in the forms of the women. In order, however, to include all heads of families, the forms filled in by widows were analysed in addition to those filled in by men who were or had been married.

TABLE V
CHILDLESS HEADS OF FAMILIES BY MARITAL CONDITION, FRANCE, 1906

Marital Condition.	Heads of Families.				
	With no Child.	With 1 Child or more.	With Children not stated.	Total.	With no Child. Per cent.
Husbands	936,398	6,586,346	567,216	8,089,960	12.4
Widowers and divorced men	86,462	816,642	97,355	1,000,459	9.6
Widows	188,227	1,952,651	225,313	2,366,191	8.8
Total	1,211,087	9,355,639	889,884	11,456,610	11.5

It appears that of all family heads 11.5 per cent. had never had a live-born child. The proportion for widows was 8.8 per cent. and that for husbands, and therefore probably also for wives, was 12.4 per cent. For husbands (or wives) who had been married from 15 to 24 years it was 8.2 per cent. and for those who had been married for 25 or more years it was 6.4 per cent.

TABLE VI
CHILDLESS HUSBANDS BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE, FRANCE, 1906

Duration of Marriage Years.	Husbands.				
	With no Child.	With 1 Child or more.	With Children not stated.	Total.	With no Child Per cent.
0-4	364,072	662,858	120,839	1,147,769	35.5
5-14	229,494	1,851,089	106,985	2,187,568	11.0
15-24	136,518	1,523,386	63,003	1,722,907	8.2
25-	143,825	2,102,840	72,374	2,319,039	6.4
Total stated	873,909	6,140,173	363,201	7,377,283	12.5
Not stated	62,489	446,173	204,015	712,677	12.3

In the census reports for 1911 and 1926 the data on the number of children born were not analysed but only those

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on the number of children living, and the material obtained at the 1921 census was not used at all. For 1931 the data on the number of children born were again analysed, but the official report has not yet been published. However, Mr. Bunle, who is in charge of this work, kindly sent me the manuscript of a paper which he had submitted to the 1937 International Population Congress, and in which he discusses the results of the 1931 census.

The new statistics are based on the forms filled in by wives (9,444,068), widows (2,793,071), divorced women (169,826), and widowers (865,654). It appears that the proportion of family heads without a live-born child was 12·1 per cent. as against 11·5 per cent. in 1906. These figures are not strictly comparable because the number of cases in which no statement was made about the number of children was rather large in 1906, and also because the 1906 figures included the divorced men while the 1931 figures included the divorced women. But this much can be said: the available data do not show any evidence of a notable increase in the number of childless marriages.

M. Bunle shows also the proportion of childless marriages for married women born in 1885 or in an earlier year:

Year of birth of wife.	Childless per 1,000.	Year of birth of wife.	Childless per 1,000.
1885 . . .	109·5	1866-70 . . .	100·9
1881 . . .	108·3	1861-65 . . .	97·1
1876-80 . . .	107·9	1851-60 . . .	91·1
1871-75 . . .	103·9	1850 and earlier.	89·0

It should be noted that the proportion of childless women among those who were born in 1885 (and mostly married round about 1910) was not much greater than among those who were born before 1851 (and mostly married round about 1870). The small difference there is, is doubtless due in part at least to the fact that the couples where the wife is over 80 comprise a larger proportion of people with an especially strong vitality.

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UNITED KINGDOM

At the 1911 census the Householder's Schedule used in England and Wales contained the following heading:

State, for each Married Woman entered on this Schedule, the number of			
Completed years the present Marriage has lasted.	Children born alive to present Total Children Born Alive.	Marriage Children still Living.	Children who have Died.

Similar Householder's Schedules were used in Scotland and in Ireland, but they lacked the last column, "Children who have Died."

The report for England and Wales contained the following data about childless wives¹⁸:

Couples by age of wife and husband at marriage and duration of marriage.

Wives over 45 years, by age at marriage and duration of marriage.

The tables covered 6,014,319, or only 90·7 per cent., of the wives and 75·2 per cent. of the women who were or had been married (6,630,284 wives, 1,364,804 widows). Of the 615,965 schedules of wives not used for the tabulations 493,679 were excluded because the husbands were not enumerated on the same schedule as the wives, and 122,286 were "rejected because of evidently defective information."

The proportion of childless wives was 16·6 per cent. Excluding those who had married after attaining the age of 45, it was 15·5 per cent. Considering only those who had been married for more than 10 years and who married their present husbands before attaining the age of 25, it appears that only 5·2 per cent. were recorded as childless. The proportion was lowest for those who had been married for 25 to 40 years. That it was slightly higher for those who had been married for over 40 years may be due to the fact that very old couples who have lost their only child when it was an infant are particularly apt to report that they never had a child. That the proportion was slightly higher also

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for couples who had been married for less than 25 years may be due to the fact that the couples marrying between 1886 and 1901 had a better knowledge of contraceptive devices. Birth-control seems indeed to have been practised as far back as 40 years ago by a considerable number of childless couples, though by few who married young. Considering only those women who had been married for over 10 years and who had married their present husbands when they were between 25 and 30, it appears that 11·5 per cent. were recorded as childless. That the proportion of women who had no children to their present marriage was higher among those who had married at a higher age need not in itself, of course, be due to increased practice of birth-control. But that the proportion was 12·9 per cent. among those who had married in 1896-1901 as against 8·6 among those who had married before 1861 seems to prove beyond any doubt that a notable proportion of the childless women who had married between the ages of 25 and 30 was voluntarily childless.

The census report for Scotland contained the following data about childless persons ¹⁶:

Wives and husbands by age at marriage, and duration of marriage.

Wives over 45 years, by age at marriage.

Husbands with wives over 45 years, by age at marriage.

Wives under 45 years, by age at marriage.

Husbands with wives under 45 years, by age at marriage.

Wives under 45 years, by duration of marriage.

Husbands by occupation.

The tables covered 680,684 or only 89·2 per cent. of the wives and 72·1 per cent. of the women who were or had been married (762,835 wives, 181,497 widows). The 82,151 excluded schedules of wives comprised the cases where the women were not returned on the same schedules as their husbands, all cases in which the wives at the time of marriage were over 45, and finally a small number of cases "omitted on account of evident confusion and unreliability in the answers."

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TABLE VII
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, ENGLAND AND WALES, 1911

Duration of Marriage Years	Age of Wife at Marriage (years)						
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-44	45-	Total	15-44
<i>Wives with no Live-born Child to Present Marriage</i>							
0-4	15,499	141,292	141,464	107,127	29,508	434,890	156,791
5-9	4,100	39,467	47,167	59,437	20,097	170,268	43,567
10-14	3,572	29,008	34,631	46,783	14,925	128,919	32,580
15-19	2,832	21,568	22,554	31,842	8,618	87,414	24,400
20-24	2,978	17,756	17,417	21,499	5,099	64,749	20,734
25-29	2,565	13,535	11,085	12,535	2,096	41,816	16,100
30-39	3,986	17,904	13,452	12,702	1,006	49,050	21,890
40-49	1,865	8,106	4,978	2,639	59	17,647	9,971
50-	489	1,800	675	193	1	3,158	2,289
Total	37,886	290,436	293,423	294,757	81,409	997,911	328,322
10-	18,287	109,677	104,792	128,193	31,804	392,753	127,964
<i>All Wives</i>							
0-4	84,774	478,268	333,681	185,831	30,069	1,112,623	553,042
5-9	104,880	484,398	299,479	163,353	20,602	1,072,712	589,278
10-14	113,106	455,822	267,630	136,079	15,214	987,851	568,928
15-19	98,374	373,773	194,557	99,765	8,827	775,296	472,147
20-24	96,213	312,743	154,358	71,719	5,221	640,254	408,956
25-29	80,220	246,770	106,169	47,046	2,160	482,365	326,990
30-39	123,551	324,634	130,825	54,606	1,086	634,702	448,185
40-49	52,590	139,362	50,553	14,278	65	256,848	191,952
50-	12,123	30,451	7,848	1,245	1	51,668	42,574
Total	765,831	2,846,221	1,545,100	773,922	83,245	6,014,319	3,612,052
10-	576,177	1,883,555	911,940	424,738	32,574	3,828,984	2,459,732
<i>Childless Wives per cent.</i>							
0-4	18.3	29.5	42.4	57.6	98.1	39.1	27.8
5-9	3.9	8.1	15.7	36.4	97.5	15.9	7.4
10-14	3.2	6.4	12.9	34.4	98.1	13.1	5.7
15-19	2.9	5.8	11.6	31.9	97.6	11.3	5.2
20-24	3.1	5.7	11.3	30.0	97.7	10.1	5.1
25-29	3.2	5.5	10.4	26.6	97.0	8.7	4.9
30-39	3.2	5.5	10.3	23.3	92.5	7.7	4.9
40-49	3.5	5.8	9.8	18.5	92.5	6.9	5.2
50-	4.0	5.9	8.6	15.5	97.8	6.1	5.4
Total	4.9	10.2	19.0	38.1	97.8	16.6	9.1
10-	3.2	5.8	11.5	30.2	97.6	10.3	5.2
0-4	298,255	298,255	298,255	298,255	298,255	298,255	298,255
5-9	90,734	90,734	90,734	90,734	90,734	90,734	90,734
10-14	67,211	67,211	67,211	67,211	67,211	67,211	67,211
15-19	46,954	46,954	46,954	46,954	46,954	46,954	46,954
20-24	38,151	38,151	38,151	38,151	38,151	38,151	38,151
25-29	27,185	27,185	27,185	27,185	27,185	27,185	27,185
30-39	35,342	35,342	35,342	35,342	35,342	35,342	35,342
40-49	14,949	14,949	14,949	14,949	14,949	14,949	14,949
50-	2,964	2,964	2,964	2,964	2,964	2,964	2,964
Total	916,502	916,502	916,502	916,502	916,502	916,502	916,502
10-	360,949	360,949	360,949	360,949	360,949	360,949	360,949
0-4	1,082,554	1,082,554	1,082,554	1,082,554	1,082,554	1,082,554	1,082,554
5-9	1,052,110	1,052,110	1,052,110	1,052,110	1,052,110	1,052,110	1,052,110
10-14	972,637	972,637	972,637	972,637	972,637	972,637	972,637
15-19	766,469	766,469	766,469	766,469	766,469	766,469	766,469
20-24	635,033	635,033	635,033	635,033	635,033	635,033	635,033
25-29	480,205	480,205	480,205	480,205	480,205	480,205	480,205
30-39	633,616	633,616	633,616	633,616	633,616	633,616	633,616
40-49	256,783	256,783	256,783	256,783	256,783	256,783	256,783
50-	51,667	51,667	51,667	51,667	51,667	51,667	51,667
Total	5,157,152	5,157,152	5,157,152	5,157,152	5,157,152	5,157,152	5,157,152
10-	3,371,672	3,371,672	3,371,672	3,371,672	3,371,672	3,371,672	3,371,672

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The proportion of childless wives among those who had married before attaining the age of 45 was 13·5 per cent. (as against 15·5 in England). Considering only those who had been married for more than 10 years and who married their present husbands before attaining the age of 25, it appears that only 4·3 per cent. were recorded as childless (5·2 in England); of those who had married between 25 and 30 the proportion was 9·1 per cent. (11·5 in England).

TABLE VIII

CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, SCOTLAND, 1911

Duration of Marriage. Years.	Age of Wife at Marriage (Years).						
	15-19.	20-24.	25-29.	30-44.	Total.	15-24.	25-29.
<i>Wives with no Live-born Child to Present Marriage</i>							
0- 4 .	2,181	12,218	12,894	12,816	40,109	14,399	27,293
5- 9 .	525	3,298	4,224	6,940	14,987	3,823	8,047
10-14 .	345	2,613	3,352	5,500	11,810	2,958	6,310
15-19 .	306	1,891	2,245	3,589	8,031	2,197	4,442
20-24 .	247	1,596	1,821	2,500	6,164	1,843	3,664
25-29 .	217	1,217	1,183	1,459	4,076	1,434	2,617
30- .	468	2,388	1,955	1,839	6,650	2,856	4,811
Total .	4,289	25,221	27,674	34,643	91,827	29,510	57,184
10- .	1,583	9,705	10,556	14,887	36,731	11,288	21,844
<i>All Wives</i>							
0- 4 .	11,633	51,123	36,901	24,474	124,131	62,756	99,657
5- 9 .	12,935	50,924	34,672	21,922	120,453	63,859	98,531
10-14 .	12,818	48,649	31,774	18,585	111,826	61,467	93,241
15-19 .	10,643	39,548	24,029	13,506	87,726	50,191	74,220
20-24 .	9,674	32,980	19,500	10,133	72,287	42,654	62,154
25-29 .	7,771	26,936	14,438	6,690	55,835	34,707	49,145
30- .	16,884	55,196	25,713	10,633	108,426	72,080	97,793
Total .	82,358	305,356	187,027	105,943	680,684	387,714	574,741
10- .	57,790	203,309	115,454	59,547	436,100	261,099	376,553
<i>Childless Wives per cent.</i>							
0- 4 .	18·7	23·9	34·9	52·4	32·3	22·9	27·4
5- 9 .	4·1	6·5	12·2	31·7	12·4	6·0	8·2
10-14 .	2·7	5·4	10·5	29·6	10·6	4·8	6·8
15-19 .	2·9	4·8	9·3	26·6	9·2	4·4	6·0
20-24 .	2·6	4·8	9·3	24·7	8·5	4·3	5·9
25-29 .	2·8	4·5	8·2	21·8	7·3	4·1	5·3
30- .	2·8	4·3	7·6	17·3	6·1	4·0	4·9
Total .	5·2	8·3	14·8	32·7	13·5	7·6	9·9
10- .	2·7	4·8	9·1	25·0	8·4	4·3	5·8

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The census report for Ireland showed the number of married couples by age of wife and husband at marriage and duration of marriage in the six county boroughs, the Dublin Registration Area, the County Borough of Belfast, and the whole country.¹⁷ The tabulations were confined to the wives (1) whose husbands were returned on the same family form, (2) who had married before attaining the age of 50, and (3) who have been married for less than 35 years. They covered 471,950 wives and thus comprised only 78.5 per cent. of the married women and only 58.6 per cent. of those who were or had been married (601,281 wives, 204,740 widows).

The proportion of childless wives among those who had married before attaining the age of 45 was 16.0 per cent. Considering only those who had been married for more than 10 years and who married their present husbands before attaining the age of 25, it appears that 5.5 per cent. were recorded as childless; among those who had married between 25 and 30 the proportion was 8.6 per cent. These proportions, however, are not strictly comparable with those ascertained for England and Scotland because the data for Ireland exclude the couples who were married for over 35 years. Considering only the wives who had been married for 10 to 29 years, it appears that the percentage of childless women among those who had married under 20 was 4.5 in Ireland (5.3 in the six county boroughs and 4.0 in the rest of the country), 3.1 in England, and 2.7 in Scotland; among those who had married at the ages 20-24 it was 6.0 in Ireland (7.2 and 5.6 respectively), 5.9 in England, and 4.9 in Scotland; among those who had married at the ages 25-29 it was 9.0 in Ireland (12.4 and 8.2 respectively), 11.9 in England, and 9.6 in Scotland. The proportion of childless women among those who had married under 20 was then in Ireland (especially in the county boroughs) much larger than in either England or Scotland. This seems to indicate that the proportion of very young wives who were expecting a

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TABLE IX
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, IRELAND, 1911

Duration of Marriage (years).	Age of Wife at Marriage (years).						
	-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	Total.
<i>Wives with no Live-born Child to Present Marriage</i>							
0-4	1,204	7,849	10,462	13,941	1,047	34,503	9,053
5-9	407	2,189	2,834	6,910	834	13,174	2,596
10-14	465	1,800	2,577	5,104	717	10,663	2,265
15-19	344	1,492	1,569	3,583	564	7,552	1,836
20-24	366	1,196	1,297	2,503	681	6,043	1,562
25-29	240	816	769	1,724	376	3,925	1,056
30-34	193	654	647	1,582	130	3,206	847
Total	3,219	15,996	20,155	35,347	4,349	79,066	19,215
10-34	1,608	5,958	6,859	14,496	2,468	31,389	7,566
<i>All Wives</i>							
0-4	5,314	27,256	28,576	26,932	1,157	89,235	32,570
5-9	7,571	30,226	26,868	25,418	1,002	91,085	37,797
10-14	9,182	27,114	24,738	19,346	873	81,253	36,266
15-19	8,418	24,664	17,360	16,217	719	67,378	33,082
20-24	7,943	19,731	15,456	13,330	943	57,403	27,674
25-29	6,058	16,423	11,721	10,633	492	45,327	22,481
30-34	4,964	13,665	10,383	10,772	185	40,269	18,929
Total	49,450	159,379	135,102	122,648	5,371	471,950	208,829
10-34	36,565	101,897	79,658	70,298	3,212	291,630	138,462
<i>Childless Wives per cent.</i>							
0-4	22.7	28.8	36.6	51.8	90.5	38.7	27.8
5-9	5.4	7.2	10.5	27.2	83.2	14.5	6.9
10-14	5.1	6.6	10.4	26.4	82.1	13.1	6.2
15-19	4.1	6.0	9.0	22.1	78.4	11.2	5.5
20-24	4.6	6.1	8.4	18.8	72.2	10.5	5.6
25-29	4.0	5.0	6.6	16.2	76.4	8.7	4.7
30-34	3.9	4.7	6.2	14.7	70.3	8.0	4.5
Total	6.5	10.0	14.9	28.8	81.0	16.8	9.2
10-34	4.4	5.8	8.6	20.6	76.8	10.8	5.5
<i>Childless Wives per cent.</i>							
0-4	31.9	38.0	31.9	27.8	31.9	38.0	31.9
5-9	8.4	13.7	8.4	6.9	8.4	13.7	8.4
10-14	7.9	12.4	7.9	6.2	7.9	12.4	7.9
15-19	6.8	10.5	6.8	5.5	6.8	10.5	6.8
20-24	6.6	9.5	6.6	5.6	6.6	9.5	6.6
25-29	5.3	7.9	5.3	4.7	5.3	7.9	5.3
30-34	5.1	7.7	5.1	4.5	5.1	7.7	5.1
Total	11.4	16.0	11.4	9.2	11.4	16.0	11.4
10-34	6.6	10.0	6.6	5.5	6.6	10.0	6.6

TABLE X
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, SELECTED GROUPS, IRELAND, 1911

Duration of Marriage (years).	Age of Wife at Marriage (years).									
	Childless Wives.					All Wives.				
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
10-14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
15-19	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
20-24	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
25-29	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30-34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Six County Boroughs</i>										
10-14	230	644	670	3,667	8,179	6.3	7.9	13.7	13.7	13.7
15-19	144	496	390	3,197	7,112	4.5	7.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
20-24	165	385	303	2,983	5,302	5.5	7.3	11.7	11.7	11.7
25-29	91	232	172	2,115	3,969	4.3	5.8	10.3	10.3	10.3
30-34	70	163	109	1,496	2,891	4.7	5.6	8.5	8.5	8.5
Total	700	1,920	1,644	13,458	27,453	5.2	7.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
<i>Rest of the Country</i>										
10-14	235	1,156	1,907	5,515	18,935	4.3	6.1	9.6	9.6	9.6
15-19	200	996	1,179	5,221	17,552	3.8	5.7	8.4	8.4	8.4
20-24	201	811	994	4,960	14,419	4.1	5.6	7.7	7.7	7.7
25-29	149	584	597	3,943	12,464	3.8	4.7	5.9	5.9	5.9
30-34	123	491	538	3,468	11,074	3.5	4.4	5.9	5.9	5.9
Total	908	4,038	5,215	23,107	74,444	3.9	5.4	7.9	7.9	7.9

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child at the time of their marriage was lower in Ireland than in Great Britain. The proportion of childless women among those who had married between 20 and 25 was about the same in Ireland as in England but somewhat larger than in Scotland. This indicates possibly that involuntary sterility was somewhat rarer in Scotland than in either England or Ireland. The proportion of childless women among those who had married between 25 and 30 was in Ireland somewhat lower than in Scotland and much lower than in England, but it was higher in the Irish county boroughs than in either England or Scotland. It seems quite possible that these differences are due to differences in the spread of the practice of birth-control.

The census of 1911 is so far the only one at which the number of children born has been asked.

NEW ZEALAND

At the 1911 census the household schedule, used for the whole population excluding the Maoris, contained the following headings:

Duration of present marriage.

Number of children born to present marriage—(I) living, (II) dead.

The census report showed the wives with no live-born child (exclusive of Maoris) by age and duration of marriage.¹⁸ The tables covered all married women and 86·7 per cent. of those who were or had been married (171,283 wives, 25,797 widows, 411 divorced). But they included a column "Number of children not stated," in which were "entered all married women who apparently had had no children, but omitted to state so on the Schedule." These women numbered 20,025, while "those who stated definitely they had had no children born to the marriage" numbered only 10,466. The official report counts all these 30,491 wives as childless and obtains thus a proportion of 17·8 per cent. childless women. Considering only those who were married over 10 years, the proportion appears to be 9·2 per cent.

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Among the wives under 45 who were married over 20 years the proportion was 5·1 per cent.

At the 1916 and 1921 censuses the "Householder's Schedule" used for the whole population, excluding the Maoris in the North Island, contained the following headings:

State for each Married Woman entered on this Schedule the number of:

Completed years her
present marriage
has lasted.

Children born alive to
present marriage.
Number of Number
Children still
born alive. living.

The 1916 census report showed the childless wives (excluding Maoris) by age and duration of marriage.¹⁹ The tables covered all wives and 86·9 per cent. of the women who were or had been married (205,896 wives, 30,423 widows, 613 divorced). The official report, counting again as childless the women who had omitted to state the number of their children, obtained a proportion of 17·7 per cent. childless women. Considering only those who were married for over 10 years, the proportion appears to be 9·5 per cent.

TABLE XI
CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE, NEW ZEALAND, 1911 AND 1916

Duration of Marriage Years.	Childless Wives.		All Wives.		Childless per cent.	
	1911.	1916.	1911.	1916.	1911.	1916.
0-4 . .	14,408	17,734	37,700	43,221	38·2	41·0
5-9 . .	4,713	6,153	33,656	40,045	14·0	15·4
10-14 . .	2,966	4,095	25,943	33,959	11·4	12·1
15-19 . .	1,755	2,619	18,098	25,167	9·7	10·4
20-24 . .	1,293	1,639	14,609	17,855	8·9	9·2
25-29 . .	950	1,043	11,797	13,418	8·1	7·8
30- . .	1,880	1,899	25,479	28,805	7·4	6·6
Not stated .	2,526	1,001	4,001	3,426	63·1	29·2
Total . .	30,491	36,183	171,283	205,896	17·8	17·6
10- . .	8,844	11,295	95,926	119,204	9·2	9·5

The 1921 report contained the following data about childless wives (excluding Maoris)²⁰:

Wives by age and duration of marriage.

Wives by age at marriage.

Wives over 45, by age at marriage.

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However, only "sample tables" were prepared. The classification by age and duration was given (1) for the wives aged 22, 27, 32, 37, 42, 47, 52, 57, 62, and 67 years; (2) for all wives married 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, and 40 years. The classification by age at marriage was given for the wives aged 22, 27, etc., years. The tables thus covered less than one-fifth of all married women and about one-sixth of those who were or had been married (225,373 wives, 36,509 widows, 998 divorced).

Of the 43,337 wives aged 22, 27, etc., years, 7,942 or 18.3 per cent. were childless. Of the 40,590 wives married 5, 10, etc., years, 5,435 or 13.4 per cent. were childless; omitting those who were married 5 years the proportion declines to 11.6 per cent. Of the 1,661 wives aged 47, 52, 57, 62, or 67 years who had married at the ages 16-19 only 51 or 3.1 per cent. were childless; of 4,919 such wives having married at the ages 20-24, 263 or 5.3 per cent.; of 3,185 having married at the ages 25-29, 296 or 9.3 per cent.

At the 1926 census no question was asked about the number of children. At the 1936 census the schedule asked for the number of children of married men, widowers, and widows, but the results have not been published as yet.

NORWAY

At the 1920 census the personal slip (*Personseddel*) contained the following questions :

For married women: When married?.....	} Information referring to present marriage.
Total number of children born in marriage?	
Of whom still living?	

The census report gave the following data about childless wives ²¹:

Wives by age at marriage and duration of marriage, in rural districts and in towns.

Wives of over 46, by age at marriage in the various rural districts and towns.

Wives of 46 to 50 who married at the ages 20-29, by age at marriage.

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Wives who married at the ages 20-25 and have been married for over 18 years, by age at marriage and occupation of husband in rural districts and in towns.

The tables covered 385,376 wives and thus comprised only 90.0 per cent. of the married women and 71.5 per cent. of those who were or had been married (428,270 wives, 105,711 widows, 5,154 divorced). Of the 385,376 wives included in the tables 36,341 had recorded themselves as childless. But the 42,894 wives who were excluded comprised a much larger proportion of childless women. For 38,250 of these wives (those living in the southern rural districts and the towns) the reason of the exclusion was given ²²:

17,712 had stated the year of marriage but not the number of children.

6,283 had stated the number of children but not the year of marriage.

4,371 had stated neither the year of marriage nor the number of children.

9,884 were married at the age of 46 or more, or had given evidently defective information.

Among the 17,712 wives who had stated the year of marriage but not the number of children, not less than 3,425 had married in 1920 and 4,910 more in 1914-1919.²³ The census report concludes therefrom that "the greater part of the women who had stated their year of marriage but not the number of children were childless."²⁴ The information on the incidence of childlessness conveyed through the tables of the 1920 census report is then too defective to justify an analysis of the results in this study.

At the 1930 census the household list (*Husholdningsliste*) contained the following headings:

For married women (present marriage).

When married?	How many children born to this marriage?
------------------	---

The instructions on the household list said that only live-born children should be recorded. The census report gave the following data about childless wives: ²⁵

Wives by duration of marriage in rural districts and towns.

Wives by age at marriage and duration of marriage.

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Percentage of childless wives among those who married at the age of 24 or 25, by duration of marriage in rural districts and towns.

Wives of 46 to 50 who married at the ages 20-29, by age at marriage.

Wives who married at the ages 20-29 and have been married for over 18 years, by age at marriage, and occupation of husband, in rural districts and towns.

The tables covered 461,776 wives, and thus comprised 97.0 per cent. of the married women and 77.6 per cent. of those who were or had been married (476,248 wives, 109,910

TABLE XII

CHILDLESS WIVES BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, NORWAY, 1930

Duration of Marriage Years.	Age of Wife at Marriage (years).						
	16-19.	20-23.	24-29.	30-45.	Total.	16-23.	16-29.
<i>Wives with no Live-born Child to Present Marriage</i>							
0-4 . . .	799	6,332	12,660	7,995	27,786	7,131	19,791
5-9 . . .	193	1,628	3,955	4,136	9,912	1,821	5,776
10-14 . . .	206	1,186	2,486	3,384	7,262	1,392	3,878
15-19 . . .	145	831	1,726	2,484	5,186	976	2,702
20-24 . . .	94	674	1,351	1,850	3,969	768	2,119
25-29 . . .	86	546	1,101	1,228	2,961	632	1,733
30- . . .	277	1,388	2,344	1,952	5,961	1,665	4,009
Total . . .	1,800	12,585	25,623	23,029	63,037	14,385	40,008
10- . . .	808	4,625	9,008	10,898	25,339	5,433	14,441
<i>All Wives</i>							
0-4 . . .	4,920	24,106	32,405	15,380	76,811	29,026	61,431
5-9 . . .	5,710	25,345	29,575	13,843	74,473	31,055	60,630
10-14 . . .	6,397	25,382	26,990	12,897	71,666	31,779	58,769
15-19 . . .	5,203	19,484	21,765	10,239	56,691	24,687	46,452
20-24 . . .	4,170	16,392	18,210	8,339	47,111	20,562	38,772
25-29 . . .	3,650	13,670	15,463	6,473	39,256	17,320	32,783
30- . . .	8,583	35,272	38,338	13,575	95,768	43,855	82,193
Total . . .	38,633	159,651	182,746	80,746	461,776	198,284	381,030
10- . . .	28,003	110,200	120,766	51,523	310,492	138,203	258,969
<i>Childless Wives per cent.</i>							
0-4 . . .	16.2	26.3	39.1	52.0	36.2	24.6	32.2
5-9 . . .	3.4	6.4	13.4	29.9	13.3	5.9	9.5
10-14 . . .	3.2	4.7	9.2	26.2	10.1	4.4	6.6
15-19 . . .	2.8	4.3	7.9	24.3	9.1	4.0	5.8
20-24 . . .	2.3	4.1	7.4	22.2	8.4	3.7	5.5
25-29 . . .	2.4	4.0	7.1	19.0	7.5	3.6	5.3
30- . . .	3.2	3.9	6.1	14.4	6.2	3.8	4.9
Total . . .	4.7	7.9	14.0	28.5	13.7	7.3	10.5
10- . . .	2.9	4.2	7.5	21.2	8.2	3.9	5.6

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widows, 9,029 divorced). The number of 14,472 wives who were excluded was composed as follows ²⁶:

- 1,853 had stated the year of marriage but not the number of children.
- 1,481 had stated the number of children but not the year of marriage.
- 4,326 had stated neither the year of marriage nor the number of children.
- 207 had not stated the year of their birth.
- 5,395 were married after attaining the age of 46.
- 386 were married at the age of 15.
- 824 had given evidently defective information.

Of the 461,776 wives covered by the tables, 63,037 or 13·7 per cent. were childless. If the 5,395 women who had married at the age of 46 or more are counted as childless, the percentage rises to 14·6. Considering only those wives who had been married for over 10 years, the percentage was 2·9 for those who married at the ages 16-19, 4·2 for those who married at the ages 20-23, 7·5 for those who married at the ages 24-29, and 21·2 for those who married at the ages 30-45.

The percentage of childless wives among those who had married at the ages 20-25 and had been married over 18 years is given as follows, according to the occupation of the husband ²⁷:

Farmers	4·89
Agriculture, Labourers, etc.	3·82
Fishermen	5·60
Artisans	5·59
Factory workers	4·82
Building and Construction, Commerce, etc., workers	5·02
Navigation: Officers	6·06
Navigation: Seamen	5·53
Factory Owners, Wholesale Merchants, etc.	5·90
Owners of small Industrial Establishments, Retail Dealers, etc.	7·37
Business and Commercial Clerks	6·49
Professional Occupations and Public Administration:	
(a) Working on own Account, Officials in Superior Services, etc.	7·94
(b) Subordinate Services, Officials and Clerks	6·05
(c) Workers	4·87
Pension, Private Income, No Statement	7·98
Wives with own Occupation, etc.	5·32
Total	5·46

It should be noted, of course, that all these figures refer to differential childlessness among pre-war marriages.

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NOTES

This list makes no claim to completeness. I exclude from this study the South American censuses (such as that for Brazil, 1890), and also municipal censuses (Copenhagen, 1880; Berlin, 1885).

² See *Census of Massachusetts*, 1875, vol. 1, pp. 380-435, Boston, 1876; *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, 1878, pp. 104-58, Boston, 1878.

³ See *Census of Massachusetts*, 1885, vol. I, part 2, pp. 1149-73, Boston, 1888.

⁴ For further details see R. R. Kuczynski, "The Fecundity of the Native and Foreign Born Population in Massachusetts," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 1902, pp. 152-66.

⁵ *Report of Conference of Statisticians held in Sydney in February, 1900*, p. 6.

⁶ It may have intended to do so in the "General Report" (see *Census of Victoria*, 1901, part I, Letter by Government Statist), but "no General Report of this census was issued" (*Census of Australia*, 1911, vol. I, p. 48).

⁷ See *Results of a Census of New South Wales, taken for the Night of the 31st March, 1901*, pp. 440-73, Sydney, 1904.

⁸ See Istituto Centrale di Statistica del Regno d'Italia, *VII Censimento Generale della Popolazione* 21 Aprile 1931, vol. VI, p. 10*, Rome, 1936.

⁹ See *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia taken for the Night between the 2nd and 3rd April, 1911*, vol. I, pp. 273-78; vol. III, pp. 1136-41.

¹⁰ See *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia taken for the Night between the 3rd and 4th April, 1921*, *Statistician's Report*, pp. 345-46; vol. II, pp. 1926-27.

¹¹ See *Census, 1921, Statistician's Report*, p. 335.

¹² See *Statistique générale de la France, Statistique des familles en 1906*, pp. 19-21, 35-37, 105-113, 134-167, Paris, 1912.

¹³ The report contained in addition a mass of information on childless marriages, among State, provincial, and municipal employees and workers, derived from an inquiry made in 1907.

¹⁴ *Statistique des familles en 1906*, p. 11.

¹⁵ See *Census of England and Wales, 1911*, vol. XIII, part I, pp. 370-423, London, 1917; part II, p. 5, London, 1923.

¹⁶ See *Census of Scotland, 1911*, vol. III, pp. 194-252, 260-263, 266-269, 284-287, London, 1913.

¹⁷ See *Census of Ireland, 1911, General Report*, pp. 448-552, London, 1913.

¹⁸ See *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911*, pp. 381-409, Wellington 1912.

¹⁹ See *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the Night of the 15th October, 1916*, part VIII, pp. 9-53, Wellington, 1918.

²⁰ See *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the Night of the 17th April, 1921, General Report*, pp. 163-164; part X, pp. 1-9, 19-26, Wellington, 1925.

²¹ See *Norges Offisielle Statistikk, Series VII, No. 97, Census of 1st December, 1920: VI, Fertility of Marriages*, pp. 14*, 4-109, 118-135, Christiania, 1923.

²² See *Census 1920, VI, pp. 2*, 53**.

²³ See *ibid.*, pp. 3*, 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54*. More recently, in dealing with the 1920 figures, the Statistical Bureau of Norway considers even all the 17,712 wives as childless (see, for example, *Annuaire Statistique de la Norvège, 1937*, pp. 14-15). But this is evidently going too far. It may suffice to mention that among the 46,903 wives who at the 1920 census were reported as having married in 1901-5, 3,213 had recorded themselves as childless and 1,435 had not stated the number of their children, while at the 1930 census, where the omissions

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were negligible, of the 39,256 wives who were reported as having married in 1901-5, 2,961 had recorded themselves as childless. The figure of 3,213 childless wives for 1920 was obviously somewhat too low, but it is evident that only a minority of the 1,435 wives who had not stated the number of their children were childless.

²⁵ See Norges Offisielle Statistikk, Series IX, No. 62, *Census of December 1st, 1930: IX, Fertility of Marriages*, pp. 12*, 17*-18*, 4-33, 54-71, Oslo, 1935.

²⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 2*.

²⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 32*-34*.

(To be concluded)

NOTES ON SOME POPULATION DATA FROM A SOUTHERN NIGERIAN VILLAGE

By ENID CHARLES and C. DARYLL FORDE

SINCE low fertility is now regarded as universally characteristic of the culture pattern presented by Western civilization, information about the reproductive behaviour of peoples at other culture levels has acquired a fresh significance. The object of this note is to discuss some of the difficulties which arise when interpreting such information and to analyse some data from a Southern Nigerian village.

Observations on primitive peoples are seldom available over any lengthy period. They are usually made on one occasion only. From the standpoint of the statistician, they may therefore be regarded as an unofficial census. Statistical methods for determining fertility from census data have been discussed exhaustively by Kuczynski.¹ In general, statistics of primitive peoples involve additional difficulties other than those inherent in census data alone. Exact ages are usually unknown. So nothing more than a rough approximation to fertility rates can be hoped for.

Carr-Saunders² has summarized the extant information about backward cultures. From the data then available he drew the conclusion that effective fertility among hunting, fishing, and primitive agricultural peoples is low. It is not possible to quarrel with this general conclusion since few such peoples exist undisturbed in large numbers at the present time. None the less it is important to seek more precise information concerning small units of population and to recognize the difficulty of interpreting data of this kind. Observations made when anthropology was in its infancy

¹ Kuczynski: *The Measurement of Population Growth*.

² Carr-Saunders: *The Population Problem*.

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are frequently expressed in terms which reveal more about the observers' preferences than about the situation described.

The terms "high" or "low" when applied to fertility at the present time usually signify a fertility which is or is not adequate to maintain a stationary population given some particular set of death-rates. It is not always clear when this meaning should be attached to statements in anthropological treatises. Some observers appear to consider anything less than six a small family. With reference to Queensland tribes Carr-Saunders quotes Mathew as saying: "the number of children in a family was small on the average. Six would be rare." If these remarks relate to the number of children born alive in a community with high mortality they would not indicate an excessive rate of effective fertility. Contrariwise, if they relate to children surviving infancy fertility would appear to be more than adequate in the sense defined above.

Whether births or survivors are meant is a question which arises in relation to all data purporting to give the average number of births to a woman. It seems unlikely that pregnancies, live births, and infants dying very shortly after birth are sufficiently clearly separated to make birth data from backward cultures comparable to those of countries possessing accurate vital statistics. So records of the number of children surviving at any given time, though more difficult to analyse, may be less liable to gross over-statement or under-statement than records of the total number of births during a stated period.

Perhaps a more serious difficulty arises from the confusion of these two types of records, since they lead to quite different conclusions about the reproductive capacity of a population. Three examples may be taken from Carr-Saunders' book. Moorhouse says of Central Australia: "each woman has on an average five children born (nine being the greatest number known)." This is apparently an attempt to determine the total number of births to women who have passed through

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the reproductive period, and suggests a gross reproduction rate in the neighbourhood of 2.5 during the period covered by the observations. Of a different type are the remarks of Whitehead on Sarawak. "The families of the natives are very small; in one or two instances I have known them to contain eight or more by one mother, but many women have only three or four, most one or two children; and it is by no means uncommon to find them childless." Ross says of Alaska: "the females of the coast tribes are not fruitful, and to see four children of one mother is quite a rare occurrence, one or two being the common number of children to a family." The significance of Whitehead's remarks may be doubtful. It is quite clear that Ross is describing the number of living children per mother at the time of observation. Like the crude birth-rate, this figure is so much affected by the age composition of the population that it is almost meaningless as an index of reproductive capacity.

The point may be illustrated by reference to the 1921 Census of England and Wales.¹ The average number of living children and step-children under 16 years of age per married woman was 1.27. This figure might be given as the average size of family in a record of the social habits of a native tribe. It would then suggest an extremely low reproductive capacity. The fact is that the estimated net reproduction rate of England and Wales was 1.295 in 1901, 1.132 in 1911, and 1.113 in 1921.² Hence reproductive capacity was more than adequate for replacement throughout the period during which these children were being born; and average size of family is clearly misleading as an index of reproductive capacity.

One may then ask whether anything can be deduced from census statistics when there is little available information about age composition. Fortunately one index may be

¹ *Census of England and Wales, 1921. Dependency, Orphanhood, and Fertility.*

² *Political Arithmetic*, ed. by Lancelot Hogben, F.R.S.

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known with accuracy. This is the ratio of minors to adults at a given time. Among many primitive peoples the transition from adolescence to maturity is a notable event. There is thus no difficulty in distinguishing between the two age groups, and the approximate age limits can usually be known. Taken by itself, this index gives no exact measure of reproductive capacity, but it can be compared with ratios found in other communities in which the reproductive capacity is known, and some indication of the level of effective fertility can thus be obtained. It can also serve as a check on data obtained in other ways. Table I shows the percentage of males aged 0 to 20 years in the total male population for several countries, selected to show high and low reproduction rates. This table suggests that 45 per cent. or more of minors indicates a high net reproduction rate and 35 per cent. or less a low rate.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF MINORS (0-20) IN TOTAL MALE POPULATION AND REPRODUCTION RATES

Country.	Year.	Percentage Minors. ¹	G.R.R. ²	N.R.R. ²
Bulgaria	1910	49.2	3.155	1.760
Bulgaria	1921	48.3	2.731	1.534
India	1911	47.3	—	—
Chili	1931	48.7	2.261	1.300
Japan	1935	46.9	2.506	—
Canada ³	1921	42.6	1.698	—
Hungary	1921	42.5	1.823	1.127
Australia	1931	36.7	1.128	0.960
Switzerland	1934	35.0	0.964	—
Sweden	1930	35.0	0.908	0.777
England and Wales	1931	34.1	0.930	0.734
Estonia	1934	32.2	0.907	0.728
Austria	1933	30.9	0.804	0.670

¹ Computed from percentages in the *League of Nations Statistical Year Book*, 1936-37.

² From *Political Arithmetic*, ed. Lancelot Hogben, F.R.S. (in the press).

³ Excluding Quebec.

These considerations are relevant to the analysis of population data obtained by the second author during a period of field work in south-eastern Nigeria. The data relate to the large semi-Bantu village of Umor situated a few miles east

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of the lower Cross River in Obubra division. This village is an economically autonomous community of yam cultivators and had an adult male population of 1754 in 1935.¹ It is composed of 31 residential groups each having its own distinct dwelling area in the settlement. Each group consists of from 30 to 100 patrilineal kinsmen with their wives and children, a few unrelated adherents or dependents and a number of adopted children. For the purpose of obtaining data on the composition and social structure of these groups a census of one group, that of Ndai in the Ukpakapi ward of Umor, was undertaken.

With polygynous marriage, frequent divorce and the adoption (either temporary or permanent) of young children it was necessary to obtain, in addition to the records of the actual composition and genealogical relations of the 109 component households of Ndai at the time of the census, data concerning the previous marriages of men and women and the total numbers of children born to them. No reliable method of obtaining a close estimate of the ages of women was found, but the approximate ages of the adult males could be ascertained by reference to the succession of age classes, since a new age class is constituted in each ward every three or four years to include the males who have reached manhood (at 18 years approximately) in the intervening period.

The actual date of formation of some of the classes to which the older men belong could be ascertained by reference to events dated in government records.

The households of the Ndai group comprised 692 individuals of which 112 were adult males and 108 were household heads who had been married. There were also 43 living children of these adult males who were residing outside the group. The composition by sex and status may be indicated thus:

¹ For an outline of the social and economic structure of Umor see "Land and Labour in a Cross River Village," *Geog. Journ.*, XC, p. 24, 1937.

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ADULTS

Household Heads	.	.	.	109	} 112 Males
Other Males	.	.	.	3	
Wives	.	.	.	187	} 198 Females
Other Females	.	.	.	11	

MINORS

Heads' Children

Male	.	.	.	132	} 269
Female	.	.	.	137	

Adopted and Step-Children

Male	.	.	.	55	} 113
Female	.	.	.	58	

TOTAL	692
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Heads' children (Minors) away.

Male	.	.	.	22	} 43
Female	.	.	.	21	

Total living minors of Heads

Male	.	.	.	154
Female	.	.	.	158

As the ages of the wives and the total number of living children of wives who had been previously married could not be ascertained for the entire group, population replacement will first be considered from the point of view of the replacement of males. The numbers of children in each polygynous family are plotted in Fig. 1. Table II shows the mean number of living offspring per married man by age classes. Fig. 2 shows graphically the mean number of male children as given in Table II. The approximate mean age of the age classes of the fathers is given. The number of offspring included in the table is 390, so that all the means given are subject to a very wide margin of error due to the smallness of the sample. Inspection of the table and graphs suggests that the completed number of living male offspring, i.e. the

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number per married man living to the age of about 60, is from 2.5 to 3.0.

TABLE II
LIVING OFFSPRING OF NDAI MARRIED MEN

Males only.					Males and Females.		
Age Class.	Age of Husband.	1 Wife.	More than 1 Wife.	All Families.	1 Wife.	More than 1 Wife.	All Families.
16	20	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.00
15	23	1.00	1.60	1.40	2.00	3.36	2.95
14	25	2.00	1.25	1.45	2.67	2.50	2.55
13	29	—	0.75	0.75	—	2.50	2.50
12	33	1.22	2.33	1.67	2.89	5.83	4.07
11	37	1.33	1.60	1.45	2.50	4.60	3.45
10	41	1.80	3.20	2.50	4.00	6.00	5.00
9	45	1.00	—	1.00	3.00	—	3.00
8	49	0.75	4.33	2.29	3.00	7.00	4.71
7	53	0.50	4.00	1.67	1.00	6.00	2.67
6	57	2.00	4.67	3.14	3.75	6.67	5.00
5	60	1.00	4.67	3.20	1.50	9.33	6.20
1-4	70	2.00	3.00	2.20	4.50	7.00	5.00

We can now inquire whether this completed number of living male offspring can be related in any way to the measures of reproductive capacity more commonly used. Neglecting for the moment the fact that we are dealing with the results of the fertility and mortality prevailing over a period of fifty years or so, we must first allow for the four unmarried males. Assuming that these four males would never marry, we obtain a figure of 2.4 to 2.9 living male offspring to all males of 60 and over. This figure is clearly of an order of significance intermediate between a gross and a net reproduction rate. It is less than the gross rate since many of the sons born to the older men have died before the date of the census. It is higher than the net rate, since some of the living offspring will die before completing the reproductive period.

A closer approach to the net rate can be reached by considering the evidence of infant mortality. The only data obtained were records of the births and deaths of offspring

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Numbers of Living Children (Minor and Adult) of Ndai Men grouped by Age Classes

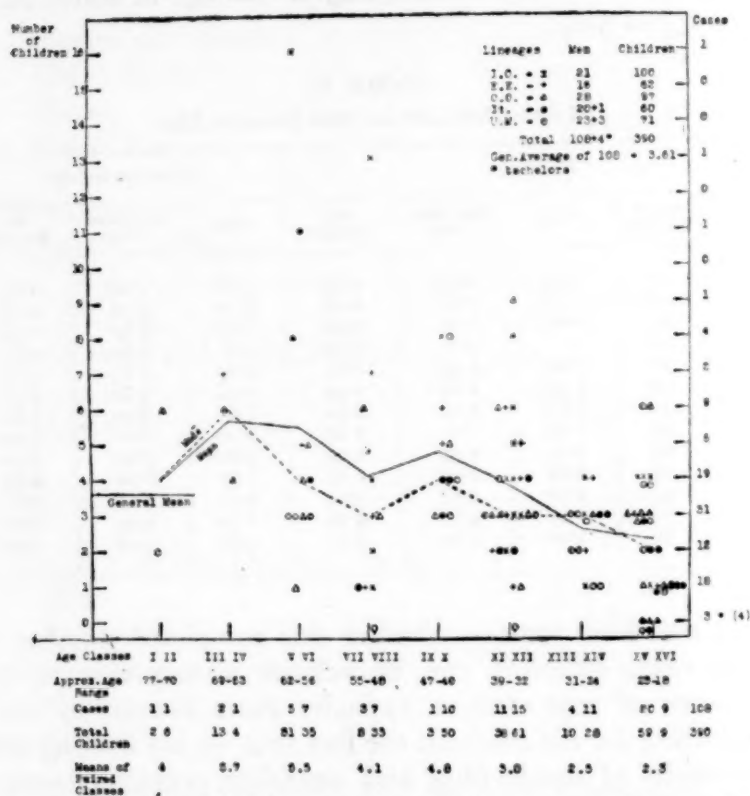


FIG. 1.—Numbers of living children of Ndai men grouped by age classes.

from a small sub-group of Ndai comprising 21 households. They are shown in Table III.

TABLE III
BIRTHS RECORDED IN THE TWENTY-ONE IKPI OMENKA HOUSEHOLDS
(BORN TO HEADS BY THEIR WIVES ONLY)

	Deaths of Offspring.	Male.	Female.
Births	Stillborn or at Birth . . .	5	11
Male . . . 72	While suckled . . .	5	4
Female . . . 84	Later childhood . . .	14	12
Living Offspring	Adult . . .	4	1
	Total . . .	28	28
Male . . . 44			
Female . . . 56			

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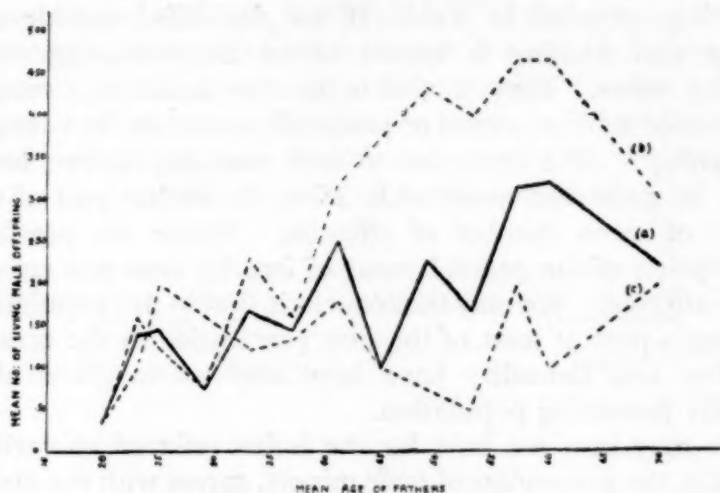


FIG. 2.—Mean number of living male children of Ndai men grouped by age classes.

- (a) All families.
- (b) More than one wife in household.
- (c) One wife only in household.

These figures suggest that infant mortality in this population group is of the order of 150 deaths under 1 year per thousand births. This corresponds roughly to the level of infant mortality prevailing in Eastern Europe during the post-war period. Assuming that mortality throughout life also corresponds to that found in Eastern Europe, one might expect that the male offspring of men of 60 and over would be reduced in numbers by about a quarter before they reached the end of their reproductive life. The number of male offspring completing the reproductive period born to men who have completed it would thus be about 1.9 to 2.2. This may be considered as an approximation to the end result of the net reproduction rates prevailing for the previous fifty years.

A difficulty arises from the fact that we are not dealing with a closed population group, since three of the adult male

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offspring recorded in Table II are domiciled outside the group and nothing is known about their marriage and fertility states. They should in fact be included a second time in the table as actual or potential parents in the younger age groups. The error due to their omission cannot, however, be great and would only affect the earlier part of the curve of mean number of offspring. Hence the previous description of the general trend of fertility does not appear to be affected. We may thus conclude that in this population during a part at least of the fifty years prior to the census, fertility and mortality have been such as to allow of a rapidly increasing population.

We may now see how far the index referred to earlier, namely, the percentage of male minors, agrees with the above conclusion. The age limit for male minors in this community is 18 years and they constitute 57 per cent. of the total male population of the group. In calculating this percentage male minors in the community who are not the offspring of the male household heads have been omitted, while the adult males include adult male offspring of living adults both in and away from it. A comparison may be made with the figures given in Table I, bearing in mind that the percentages in the table cover two additional years. The percentage of minors found in the Ndai population is higher than any shown in the table and therefore suggests a reproductive capacity as high as that indicated by the study of completed families. But the percentage of male minors to total male population indicates only the fertility over the previous eighteen years, and it is therefore possible that fertility may have been higher recently than at the beginning of the fifty-year period.

Reference has already been made to birth data from a group of 21 families. In these families we know all the children who have been born to the husbands, and also their sex. We also know whether they are alive or dead and whether minors or adults. The total number of births

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recorded was 156. In Table IV they are shown in relation to the ages of the fathers. Although the sample is too small to justify anything more than the suggestion that the fertility shown recalls that of the Ukraine, 1896-97, when the gross reproduction rate was 3.65 and the net rate 1.96, the numbers are consonant with the conclusion reached above.

TABLE IV
MEAN NO. OF BIRTHS AMONG THE IKPI OMENGA FAMILIES BY AGE CLASS OF FATHERS

Class.	Males Only.			Males and Females.		
	1 Wife.	More than 1 Wife.	All Families.	1 Wife.	More than 1 Wife.	All Families.
16 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 . .	—	3.00	3.00	—	6.00	6.00
14 . .	2.00	—	2.00	3.00	—	3.00
13 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
12 . .	1.50	3.00	2.50	5.00	7.00	6.30
11 . .	2.00	3.00	2.50	3.00	8.00	5.50
10 . .	—	3.00	3.00	—	8.00	8.00
9 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 . .	1.00	10.50	5.75	3.00	20.00	11.50
7 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 . .	—	8.00	8.00	—	21.00	21.00
1-4 . .	—	—	—	—	—	—

In conclusion, the smallness of the Ndai group of households and the lack of exact information make it impossible to make any precise statement about reproductive capacity. The application of refined statistical methods to inadequate data would merely give a misleading impression of accuracy. But the facts which are known, when looked at from every angle, all suggest a very high reproductive capacity. We may therefore consider this to be the case with some degree of confidence. In this connexion it may be mentioned that detailed evidence was obtained of a great expansion of the area occupied by houses on the village site during the past fifty years, indicating a rapid growth of actual population.

We can now consider what part, if any, polygyny plays in producing the high fertility which appears to exist. Adult females in the group number 198 to 112 males, and 52 per

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cent. of the household heads had more than one wife at the time of the census. So the sex ratio is abnormal. Let us first consider the ratio of female to male births among the 21 families of Ikpi Omengka. This was 116.6 females to 100 males. Taking the expected ratio of females to males as 1 : 1, the ratio actually found is one and a half times its probable error. This is not sufficiently significant to enable us to conclude that there is normally an excess of female births in the population. Further, the difference is not borne out in the data of living minors born to the men of all the Ndai households. Among these the ratio is 102.6 : 100, and it differs from 1 : 1 by less than its probable error. If, however, allowance is made for the different age limits for minors the ratio is slightly greater, viz. 106 : 100. The total living children both adult and minor of Ndai marriages comprise 201 females to 189 males, i.e. 106.3 females to 100 males. As the proportion of females to males must increase with the age of the group, it is impossible to say what sex ratio one should expect here. But again this ratio does not differ from 1 : 1 by more than its probable error. These three ratios are not of course independent. The excess of female births among the Ikpi Omengka appears throughout. If this group is excluded, the sex ratios among the remainder of the Ndai households are 112 : 114 for minors, or, making allowance for differing age limits, about 101 to 100, and 145 : 145 for all living children.

When considering the sex ratio of adults in the Ndai households, we may assume, since girls usually marry about a year younger than youths, that the age limit for minors is 17 years for females and 18 years for males. The females 17 to 18 years must therefore be deducted in order to obtain a comparable adult sex ratio. One can only guess at the size of this group. Assuming it to number 5, we have then 193 females over 18 to 112 males, i.e. 172 : 100. In the absence of data on mortality it is impossible to say what the sex ratio should be. From the League of Nations Statistical

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Year Book, 1936-37, it appears that countries with a high mortality and undisturbed by migration have fewer females than males aged over 20 years, e.g. India, 1911, 97 : 100, 1931, 93 : 100; Algeria, 1911, 95 : 100. Among the highest ratios found were Colombia, 1918, 111 : 100, and Spain, 1920, 111 : 100. The population estimated for England and Wales for 2035 by one of the authors gives a ratio of females to males of 106 : 100. This population is favourable to an excess of females owing to the high percentage of aged people.

There seems thus no reason to expect the numbers of adult females and males to differ greatly in Umor, and the probability is that the greater part of the excess of 81 females have come in from another population group either as children or as adults. At the time of the census there were 186 wives living in the households of the 109 married men. There was thus an excess of 77 wives.

Social and historical data indicate the probable sources of this excess of wives. In the first place a considerable number of foreign women were found among the wives of the Ndai group, while very few males or females born into the group had left the village. Statements of informants suggested that marriages of men with foreign women who thereby became residents were frequent throughout the village, while the departure of Umor women as wives of men in other communities was much rarer.

Secondly, Umor, in common with other Cross River villages which have grown wealthy with the development of river trade in palm oil, has received a considerable accession of population by the purchase of foreign children, and most of these have been females. These children have been brought to Umor by traffickers who obtained them by theft or purchase in the densely populated and impoverished Ibo country west of the Cross River. Since it is to-day a serious offence under British law to purchase a "slave-child" it is difficult to obtain reliable information on the extent of the traffic, which has been greatly reduced during the past ten or fifteen

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years; but it proved possible in the course of genealogical inquiries to identify persons now adult or recently deceased who were purchased as children, and the data in the genealogical tables indicate that considerably more female than male children were obtained in this way. Of the 14 "slave children" recorded in one genealogy, for instance, 11 were females and only 3 were males. The records include several instances of purchased children who were grandparents of living adults, so that this traffic has affected the composition of the population for at least fifty years.

There is no significant difference in the proportion of polygynous marriages in the different age groups. When the number of wives in the household is considered in relation to the age of the men, as shown in Fig. 3, it is clearly seen that there is no tendency for the development of large households among the older men by an increase in the number of their wives. For the entire group of 112 men the average number of wives was 1.7, and the means for the age groups of the men over 48 years do not rise above that general average. The highest mean is found in the group of men who are between 24 and 31 years of age, and all the four instances of men with four or more wives are found among men less than 55 years old, while one of them is a young man of less than 23 years.

It is also seen that in every age group save one there is a substantial proportion, ranging from a third to more than a half, of men with only one wife. The exceptional group in this sample is that of men from 24 to 31 years of age in which only three monogamists are found. Although it is unsafe to generalise from so small a sample, this is a group in which the men are likely to have developed farms large enough to need the work of more than wife. Among this group also the wives are less likely than in the older groups to have been lost by death or divorce. The mean farm harvest for this group is nearly 3,000 yams, and of the three monogamists in the group, two of them are men with small harvests of 1,000

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Number of Wives of 112 Ndai Men grouped by Age Classes (including 4 bachelors)

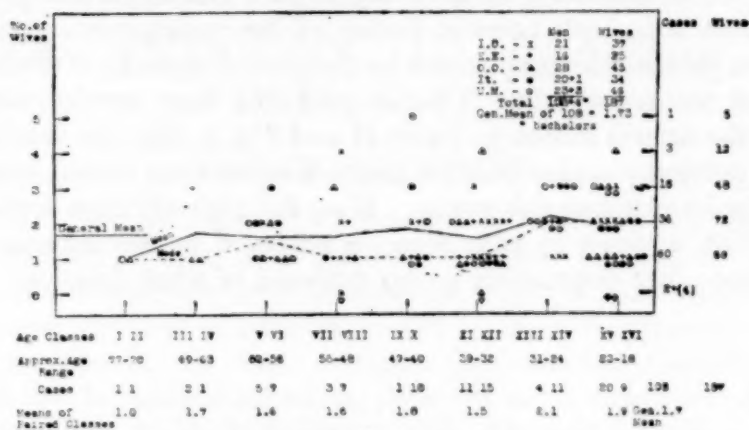


FIG. 3.—Number of wives of Ndai men grouped by age classes.

yams or less, and the third had a harvest below the average for this age group.

The frequency of wives among the 109 heads of households in Ndai, irrespective of age, is as follows:

Unmarried	.	.	.	3
One Wife	.	.	.	50
Two Wives	.	.	.	36
Three Wives	.	.	.	16
Four Wives	.	.	.	3
Five Wives	.	.	.	1
				<hr/> 109 <hr/>

Thus over one-half (52 per cent.) have more than one wife, but less than a fifth (18 per cent.) have more than two wives, while the four men with four or more wives are quite exceptional.

There appears to be little difference in the number of living offspring to wives married once who are living either in monogynous or polygynous households nor in the number

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of deaths in infancy in the two groups. The slight difference shown is in both cases in favour of the monogynous group. The problem is complicated by the great frequency of divorce and remarriage, but it seems probable from consideration of the figures shown in Table II and Fig. 2, that the practice of polygyny makes possible larger families than would otherwise be found in this group. If so, the high effective fertility which appears to exist may be achieved at the expense of some other population group depleted of adult females.

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF A SAMPLE OF ENTRANTS TO GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

By ADAM COLLIER

THE central purpose of this essay, which breaks new ground in that it is the first attempt at a survey of Scottish conditions, is to examine the opportunities open to Scottish children of different classes to enter the professions of the Church, the law, medicine, and teaching, together with the influence exerted on their choice of career by the occupations of their fathers. With this end in view, it analyses a sample of Glasgow University students who are taking degrees leading to these professions.¹ Although the son-father relationship is the subject of examination, the sons of the sample are not those who have been successful in their chosen avocations, but those who are entering these professions by completing the necessary preliminary degrees. Thus the emphasis is not on genius or bent, or whatever it is in the individual character on which success depends, but on environmental influences. One very important factor in determining the career that a man or a woman takes up is the occupation of his or her father, and it is the business of this article to study the part played by parental occupation in shaping the careers of members of the second generation. It is concerned not only with the negative aspect which we have termed "opportunity" but also with the positive influence directing a son or daughter into a particular profession.

The study is based on information collected from the Matriculation Slips of Glasgow University² regarding the entrants to the faculties of law, medicine, theology, and

¹ The reader should be warned, however, that as Glasgow is not typical of British Universities, the findings of this investigation cannot be generalized.

² Permission to examine these was kindly granted by the Senate.

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arts. The faculty of engineering, numerically important, is omitted on the ground that many engineering graduates go, not into a profession, but into industries.¹

The M.A. (Honours) degree at Glasgow is roughly equivalent to the B.A. (Honours) degree at Oxford and Cambridge, but takes four years to complete. The English equivalent of the M.A. (Ordinary) degree is the B.A. (Pass). This degree takes three years to complete and is taken by large numbers of male students (most of whom are intending teachers), and of women for whom it is the usual degree. The M.A. (Ordinary) is also a necessary preliminary to the law degree of LL.B. and to the theology degree. The law degrees are the LL.B. just mentioned, which takes five years, and the B.L., which takes three. The medical degree, which takes five years to complete, is the M.B., Ch.B. The theology degree takes six years, three being spent in taking the M.A. (Ordinary) degree, and three in the study of theological subjects.

The relation between parental occupation and prospective profession is a complex one, and a composite picture must be built up by studying its various aspects in turn. The first of these is "opportunity." Then follows an examination of the degrees taken by entrants from each class and a comparison of a pre-War and a post-War period in these respects. The effects of changes of economic circumstances and in the attractiveness of a profession on the numbers of entrants from each class are then studied, and finally the entrants from the professional class are subjected to scrutiny, particular attention being paid to self-recruitment in each profession.

Many things go to the formation of each decision to send a son or daughter to the University—individual ability and/or bent, the pecuniary attractiveness of the profession envisaged, the sex of the entrant, and the social and economic circumstances of the parent. The first assumption made is that

¹ In a note published in the *Economist* of July 18, 1937, Dr. A. K. Cairncross has examined the entrants to the accountancy profession.

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occupation is a good index to a man's social status. There are definite limitations to the validity of this assumption, as will be seen later. There are many intro-occupational differences; some individuals are attached to expanding and some to contracting occupations and firms; some are more highly skilled than others and less likely to be unemployed. Nevertheless, the assumption is valuable in enabling categories to be formulated. The second assumption is that individual bent is left out of the picture. This has definite weakness in that bent is unusually important in professional occupations. There is always an element of "pull" as well as "push"; opportunity arises partly out of the desire for it.

Information regarding the occupation of the father of each entrant and the degree which he or she had in view was available for each year from 1926-7 to 1934-5 for each of the degrees enumerated above. For purposes of comparison official figures of the total number of entrants and the number taking each degree were also available for each year.

The first problem was to eliminate, or secure a measure of, the numbers who, stating on entrance that they were going forward for a certain degree, failed to complete the course, taking a different degree or falling out of University life entirely. The problem was mainly (a) to find out how many dropped out of each degree, and (b) to find the flow in both directions¹ between M.A. (Ordinary) and M.A. (Honours), since flow was greatest there. These tendencies are too important to be ignored, yet it is almost impossible to measure them at all accurately. Accordingly, an attempt was made to eliminate the effects. When the entrance forms were examined, those who, in year n , specified a certain degree, and who were in their third year, were accounted entrants for that degree in the year $n-2$. This gave a fairly complete elimination of the effects of the tendency to change from one degree to another or to drop out. Complete elimination would have entailed a treble repetition of this procedure—

¹ Or at least the resultant.

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in third year for M.A. (Ordinary), in fourth year for M.A. (Honours), and in fifth year for law and medicine; the result would hardly have repaid the extra trouble.

This procedure restricts the scope of the inquiry. Data were available for 1935-6, and taking this as year n , the latest group of students which could be observed was that entering in year $n-2$, i.e. 1933-4. The figures for 1934-5 are, however, included, totals of second-year students for 1935-6 being used to obtain 1934-5 entrants; but the error introduced by taking crude 1935-6 figures of entrants was too great, and 1934-5 was therefore the last year included. Since the enumeration was on the basis of yearly entrants, the only possibility of double counting was in those few cases where individuals were taking arts and law subjects in the same year. In such cases the student was deemed to come under the heading of law.

The task of classifying the data of parental occupation in categories was more difficult. The information was laconic—mason, builder, shipyard worker, and the occupational status of the father was thus very difficult to appraise. In many cases, also, the father was dead, invalid, or retired. Only a few students volunteered information as to the former occupation¹ of the father or as to whether the mother or other relative was the source of support. All these were set on one side without detailed investigation. Only those cases where the father was alive and capable of work, including, i.e., unemployed, but not invalid or retired persons, were investigated in detail.

Since the correlation between occupation and social class is not complete, the use of occupation as a vicarious index to social class may result in cases where an individual in one occupational division may resemble individuals in other divisions in income, outlook, or size of family, rather than

¹ Two of the answers to the question *re* parental occupation given by students whose fathers were not alive suggest a contrast. They were respectively "Angel" and "Stoker," but this takes us beyond the bounds of the *social sciences*.

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those in his own division. The difficulty was resolved by assuming an almost complete correlation of occupational grade and social status, but the boundaries of the occupational grades were kept very flexible to ensure the maximum degree of correlation. Marginal cases were treated, as far as information went, on their merits. Since there were no data as to parental income, those which were available and which gave some clue as to status—namely the address and the particulars regarding the Carnegie or other grant, were made to suffice. These captions of parental occupation are then to be regarded as descriptive of type, rather than as rigidly applicable classifications.

Regarding the problem of dynamic data, the main danger is that the growing tendency for industrial undertakings to assume public company forms resulting in an increase in the numbers of salaried directors and managers at the expense of employers¹ will have destroyed the comparability of pre-War and post-War classifications. The post-War classification was applied to the pre-War period, thus securing uniformity of classification at the cost of some sacrifice of reality, since in the pre-War period managers were not so numerous relative to employers as they have been in the post-War period. It does not seem likely that errors due to this or to instances where a father has changed his grade since the compilation of the data, for neither of which has allowance been made, constitute a serious defect.

The immediate problem, since occupations do not fall naturally into isotropic order, was to define occupational categories. After a study of the efforts of Bowley,² Ginsberg,³ Saunders,⁴ and others on similar problems, and a tentative attempt to apply their categories, the following classes of parental occupation were evolved.

All those coming under headings which appear in Carr-

¹ Cf. C. Clark, "National Income and Outlay," quoted in the *Economist*, March 1937.

² A. L. Bowley, "Occupations of Fathers and Children" (*Economica*, 1935).

³ M. Ginsberg, "Interchange of Social Classes" (*Economic Journal*, 1929).

⁴ C. T. Saunders, "Occupational Mobility" (*Economic Journal*, 1931).

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Saunders' book, *The Professions*, were classed as professional; to these clergymen were added, and from these secretaries were deleted. This class comprised mainly doctors, lawyers, teachers, and clergymen, for whom separate subsections were kept, but included also sea-captains, dentists, surveyors, army officers, etc.

The second class consisted of entrepreneurs of the larger type as far as this could be ascertained. These comprised mainly employers, but the example of the 1931 census is followed in that managers of large firms (and also company secretaries) were also included.

Thirdly, farmers formed a fairly distinctive class, from whom, however, crofters, almost entirely in the Western Isles, were separated, the latter falling under the heading of "unskilled" since their incomes resembled those of the members of this class rather than those of farmers.

Fourthly, "black-coated workers"—clerks, agents, commercial travellers, etc.—were taken to form another class.

Unemployed, though drawn from several occupational strata, had sufficient homogeneity to form a fifth class.

Civil and municipal servants form two classes, the first including the higher grades of civil servant—tax inspectors, labour exchange managers, city firemasters, and librarians; and second, the lower grades of civil and municipal servants—postmen, constables, firemen, bus and tram drivers, etc.

The problems requiring most subtle analysis lay with the three remaining classes—artisans, "own account," and unskilled. "Own account" comprised small entrepreneurs, mainly shopkeepers, but included masons, plumbers, slaters and plasterers, painters, and the like who are described as being "masters," "having own business," etc. Students whose fathers were engaged in these occupations, but who made no mention of entrepreneurship, were placed amongst the skilled manual workers, who were thus probably overweighted to a small extent, for most of the businesses of this class are of the one-man or family type. The shopkeeper class also merged

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into merchants, the chief distinction being that of size, which was not, of course, indicated by the available data. In many cases, however, a prefix such as African, leather, corn, etc., was helpful in arriving at a decision. Shop-hands, mostly barmen, were included with unskilled.

The last problem is to distinguish between skilled and unskilled. A fourfold division on the lines of Saunders¹ was projected—supervisory, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. This was abandoned in favour of a twofold division because it was not desired to have too many over-small divisions, and because the available information did not yield such a subtle differentiation of degrees of skill. All trades—mechanic, painter, etc.—requiring an apprenticeship were classed as skilled, and such trades as labourer, janitor, caretaker, etc., were classed as unskilled. Marginal cases were classed, each on its merits, on grounds of (a) what was known of the standard of living of that class—shepherds, ship stewards, etc., and (b) what could be gleaned from the address, assistance grants, etc.

This tenfold classification, though somewhat arbitrary, justified itself in use. Some difficulty was experienced in the estimation of the numbers in each occupation in the total population and the fertility of each class, in which it was necessary that the occupational categories adopted should be fitted into the given social classes defined by the Registrar-General in his Decennial Report.² The subdivision of the category "professional" made it easy to effect the transference of teachers from Class 1 to Class 2, and in fact most difficulty was found in splitting up semi-skilled workers (Class 4) between Classes 3 and 5, and this arose out of a defect in the original data, not out of the scheme of classification.

Strictly speaking, the main part of this inquiry is only a

¹ *Op. cit.*, *Economic Journal*, 1931, page 228.

² These are: (1) Upper and Middle (Commercial and Professional); (2) Intermediate (Commercial and Professional); (3) Skilled; (4) Intermediate; (5) Unskilled.

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sample. The nature of one term of the subject—parental occupation—implies the exclusion of a large part of the possible data. As was said above (page 164), the fathers of a section of the entrants could not be graded according to occupation, because the fathers in question were dead, retired, invalid, or incapacitated for work. This section accounted for 22.75 per cent. of male entrants to these degrees over these years 1926-7 to 1934-5 and 24.4 per cent. of women entrants. In the cases of both men and women the percentage was considerably higher in the arts degrees than in the others. It is to be noted that this percentage includes those whose fathers are retired, invalid, blind, or otherwise incapacitated for work, as well as those whose fathers were dead. Although these classes were not separated, it is certain that an important proportion represents those whose fathers were retired, and it is this which explains the seemingly somewhat inflated character of this percentage. When we remember, for instance, how many of the professional class marry relatively late in life—in the thirties—and how early—fifty-five or less—some of them retire, we see an explanation of this apparent inflation. When, again, we remember that in the case of University entrants from the artisan and “black coat” classes many are financed, indirectly through the improved circumstances of the family, or directly by elder brothers and sisters who may themselves have been through University, the magnitude of the seeming inflation diminishes. Another possible reason for this inflation is that, on account of the War, the numbers of fatherless children in the population and in the student population are abnormally high.¹

To return to the main point at issue, the proportion which the sample bears to the total entrants figure is a fairly high one (over 75 per cent.), the distribution between degrees is fairly similar, and the totals of the sample fluctuate from year

¹ Another reason for the apparent inflation is that those who fail to complete their courses are excluded from the sample but not from the official figures.

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to year in a manner similar to those of all entrants.¹ We can, for these reasons, take it that any generalization about the sample applies to the whole.

OPPORTUNITY

This section aims at adding to the scanty store of information about the opportunities open to children of different classes, and in it an attempt is made to measure the proportion entrants to these degrees bear to the total number of children born² to each class.

The two sections of the problem were: (a) the measurement of the total number of children born to each class, and (b) the measurement of the number who ultimately entered for these degrees; but before either of these could be tackled, a basic geographical area had to be chosen. For the measurement of the total number of children born, recourse was had to the census, and the geographic unit there was the county. The area chosen as base, therefore, consisted of the counties of the south-western area—Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, together with the City of Glasgow. Unfortunately it was impracticable to adopt this base in calculating the number of students from each occupational grade. Use was therefore made of information given in the Returns of the University Grants Committee relating to the number of students residing within thirty miles of Glasgow. A circle thus traced out has a very fair measure of correspondence with the south-western area as defined above, for although the coincidence is not exact, about as much extra, e.g. Falkirk, is included as is excluded, e.g. Ayr. Accordingly, the number of students who resided within that area over an appropriate period of years was expressed as a percentage of the total number of entrants, and the figures of

¹ The index of correlation between the figures for total entrants and the sample was +.92 for men and +.61 for women.

² Had the standard of comparison been that of children surviving to the age of seventeen, the effect would have been to lower the absolute level of the final figures and to lessen the disparity between classes by lowering those of the poorer classes, where mortality is high, more than in the other classes.

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our sample were corrected by multiplying by the fraction thus arrived at.

In estimating the number of students from each class, it must be assumed also that the number of sons and daughters of persons living in the south-western area which goes to Universities other than Glasgow is negligible. This assumption need not, of course, be extended to those who go to another University on completing a course at Glasgow. The net error consequent on these assumptions is less than might have been expected, and that for two reasons. There is net total error on either assumption only in so far as there is a difference between Glasgow and other Universities in the percentage of entrants from each class, and in so far as the percentage of entrants from each occupational class from the south-western area differs from the percentage of entrants from each grade from outside that area. The net error is also lessened by the fact that these tendencies to error neutralize each other to some extent, one tending to reduce, the other to inflate, our figures.

The next object is to calculate the total number of children born to each class in the south-western area over a period. The effects of the War practically fixed what this period should be. During the years 1914-18 and for a few years afterwards, the birth-rate behaved in an abnormal manner, and it was therefore decided that, as far as possible, no calculation should be based on the figures for these years; so the period selected was 1909-13. To calculate the number of children born to each class, two facts are necessary—the number of persons in the class and the fertility rate of the class. Information as to the latter was gleaned from the Reports of the Registrar-General in which the fertility rates of social classes in England for the years 1901, 1911, and 1921 were given. The occupational grades of our survey could be fitted fairly neatly, as we saw above (page 167) into these social classes, leaving out Class 4 (semi-skilled). It was assumed that the fertility rates for the same classes in Scotland and

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England were in the ratio Scots birth-rate : English birth-rate, and also that if the fertility rate was 100 per 1,000 in 1911 and 120 in 1921, it rose steadily at the rate of two points per year. So from the 1901, 1911, and 1921 figures, the fertility rate of each social class in Scotland for the years 1909-13 was calculated, and an average of the five years taken.

The next stage in the process, the calculation of the number of persons in each class, was the most laborious of all, and involved the greatest number of assumptions. The first was that the figures for 1911, the only ones available, would suffice as an average of the five years 1909-13. But that was only a beginning. The Census Report does not give information as to the total numbers in each occupational grade in each county or city. It gives particulars of occupational grade, which it calls industrial status, for each industry in each county and city. The method which had to be adopted was to go over each industry for each county and for Glasgow, assigning individuals to one of our occupational grades and so to social classes. Though laborious, this was accomplished with fair ease in almost every case. The exceptions were the cases in which it was necessary to distinguish skilled from unskilled workers, and entrepreneurs from "own account."

These figures are not completely accurate, for, of course, the occupations of some fathers may have changed since 1911 and the differences in migration structure between England and Scotland may throw out the fertility rates; but they must serve.

Thus we had the average number in each social class in the south-western area for the period 1909-13 and the average fertility rate for each class for the same period. The average number of children born to each class could now be calculated. If the further assumption that the modal age of entry to the University is 17 is permissible, then out of these children should have come the entrants to the University from 1926-7 to 1930-1. Accordingly,

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the figures of entrants from each class in our sample for these years were summed. By dividing the total number of children born by the number of entrants, the number of children per entrant for each class was obtained, and the results are set out below (a). On the assumption that at the age of 17 the numbers of sons and daughters are equal, the number of sons per entrant son, and daughters per entrant daughter, was calculated.

A further table (b) shows the number of children born per entrant to the University for each social class. It was obtained by assuming that the ratio of entrants for one class to the total entrants was the same for all University entrants as it was for the sample (which includes 77 per cent. of all men entrants and 76 per cent. of all women entrants). The main distorting factor in the extension of the findings is not so much that these percentages will vary in the scientific subjects which are not covered by the sample, as that percentages will vary, and in favour of the wealthier classes, in the case of those entrants whose fathers are dead or retired.

(a) CHILDREN BORN PER ENTRANT TO THESE DEGREES, FOR EACH CLASS

	Both Sexes.	Sons.	Daughters.
Class 1	1 in 27·76	1 in 23·4	1 in 34·2
Class 2	1 in 122·8	1 in 101·6	1 in 157·2
Class 3	1 in 303·4	1 in 239·6	1 in 411·3
Class 4	1 in 785·4	1 in 642·8	1 in 1,012·7
All classes	1 in 212·7	1 in 174·5	1 in 272·7

(b) CHILDREN BORN PER ENTRANT TO THE UNIVERSITY, FOR EACH CLASS

Class 1	1 in 19·4	1 in 16·4	1 in 24
Class 2	1 in 86	1 in 71	1 in 110
Class 3	1 in 212	1 in 168	1 in 290
Class 4	1 in 550	1 in 450	1 in 708
All classes	1 in 150	1 in 122	1 in 191

The completed figures give a fair idea of the inequality in opportunity of entrance to these degrees, and, less accu-

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ately, of entrance to the University. The figures here given must be related to the number of persons per entrant. This has been calculated for England and Scotland by Dr. Ernest Barker in the symposium, "The University in a Changing World." The English population he gives as 32.25 millions, the student population as 31,000, and the ratio as 1,150 to 1. For Scotland the corresponding figures are approximately 5 millions, 11,000 students, and 445 to 1. The Scots ratio is therefore 2.5 times as large as the English one. For the district draining into Glasgow University the total population is roughly 2.34 millions,¹ the student population 3,400,² and the ratio 700 to 1. In 1911, the number of persons per University entrant was for Scotland 865.³ If the percentage of the total entrants coming from within a thirty-mile radius is taken to be the same as in 1931, namely 70 per cent., then the population per entrant for the south-western district was, in 1911, 1,084. In the twenty years from 1911 to 1931, that is, the proportion of persons per entrant for Scotland was approximately halved, and that for the south-western area reduced by 40 per cent. of its original figure.

Returning to the findings of our inquiry, and remembering that the standard of comparison is now "children born," not "total population," per entrant, it can be said that the proportion of children born per entrant to the University was approximately 150 for the south-western area. For the lowest class it was 550, for the highest 20. Too much stress should not be laid on these figures, but more trust can be put in the figures of entrants to the five degrees of our sample. For the whole population the figure is 212 children born per entrant; for the lowest class it was 786 and for the highest 28. The figures given for boys and girls separately show that in every case more opportunities (relatively)

¹ 1931 census.

² On the average of the five years 1929-33.

³ No figures are available for Edinburgh University before the War, but an estimate of the total is included.

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were open to boys than to girls and that this discrepancy was widest in Class 3, the artisan class.

A similar calculation, unfortunately, of children born per entrant in each social class for 1911 was deemed impossible, since the assumptions necessary for comparability would be too far from reality.¹ Nothing can be said, then, on the tendency of inequality of opportunity of one class, calculated on this basis, to diminish relatively to other classes. But it is known² that the population per entrant fell from 865 to 445 (for Scotland) between 1911 and 1931, and from 1,084 to 700 (for the south-western area), and it is certain that, with the improvement in working-class conditions, and an expanding market for professional services, especially in the teaching profession, the population per entrant from these classes will have fallen by an unknown but considerable amount.

If, however, opportunity be assessed by the number of *paternal* social class per entrant, such a comparison between pre-War and post-War period is impossible. The figures were as follows:

	1911.	1931.
Social Class 1 . . .	36	27
Social Class 2 . . .	250	170
Social Class 3 . . .	870	420
Social Class 4 . . .	2,560	1,380

Thus the proportion of entrants has risen in every class, but it has risen most in Class 3 (51 per cent.), followed by Class 4 (46 per cent.) and Class 2 (32 per cent.). Class 1, with 25 per cent., shows the least increase. On this showing, then, the inequality of opportunity to enter for these five degrees, while still very important, is decreasing very noticeably.

¹ For instance, the basic dates would fall between censuses and the assumptions in such circumstances would become mere guesses.

² Certain less gross assumptions having been made, i.e. that 70 per cent. of the entrants in 1911 as in 1931, came from the south-western area.

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NUMBER OF ENTRANTS FROM EACH OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND THE DEGREES TAKEN

The basis statistics for the static picture of the post-War years are to be found in Tables I (a) and (b), which were constructed from the item figures of the annual entrants from 1926-7 to 1934-5. These tables show the total numbers of sons and daughters from each occupational group entering for these five degrees, and Tables II (a) and (b) show the actual degrees for which they entered. From Tables III (a) and (b) and their derivatives, it can be seen from what classes the entrants for a degree come and to what degrees the entrants from a particular class go, according as degree or class is taken as starting-point.

TABLE I
SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE ENTRANTS TO THE FIVE DEGREES OF THE SAMPLE
(a) MEN

	1926-7.	1927-8.	1928-9.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-2.	1932-3.	1933-4.	1934-5.	Total.
Professional . . .	80	84	99	91	111	109	115	93	120	902
Entrepreneur . . .	44	44	50	55	37	61	59	45	38	433
Artisan . . .	113	152	141	134	130	122	102	94	87	1,075
Black Coat . . .	57	79	73	49	63	67	65	62	69	584
Farmer . . .	8	15	12	21	13	14	5	8	11	107
Own Account . . .	55	74	68	68	78	85	67	66	59	620
Higher Civil Service .	6	15	10	8	15	7	5	10	3	79
Lower Civil Service .	7	10	9	15	7	10	5	7	2	72
Unskilled . . .	44	50	54	53	47	47	47	40	51	433
Unemployed . . .	—	3	2	3	3	4	3	11	1	30
Total . . .	514	526	518	497	504	526	473	436	411	4,335

(b) WOMEN

	1926-7.	1927-8.	1928-9.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-2.	1932-3.	1933-4.	1934-5.	Total.
Professional . . .	57	76	72	59	61	55	56	52	55	543
Entrepreneur . . .	47	36	33	30	38	29	30	21	26	290
Artisan . . .	57	96	83	74	85	71	54	42	42	604
Black Coat . . .	41	45	42	43	35	33	28	21	24	312
Farmer . . .	8	15	9	7	10	4	7	8	9	77
Own Account . . .	46	69	47	50	48	36	38	38	30	402
Higher Civil Service .	8	12	7	2	4	5	4	4	5	51
Lower Civil Service .	3	5	7	9	4	10	3	5	—	46
Unskilled . . .	20	42	39	27	28	34	17	10	12	229
Unemployed . . .	1	—	1	1	2	4	3	4	6	22
Total . . .	288	396	340	302	315	281	240	205	209	2,576

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In what way are the various occupational classes represented in the total of entrants? Roughly, 22·6 per cent. of the male students come from the professional class, 37·25 per cent. from the working classes, 27·8 per cent. from the "own account" and "black coat" classes, 10 per cent. from the entrepreneur class, and 2·3 per cent. from the farmer class. While fewer daughters than sons from every class enter for these degrees, the representation of occupational classes in the total of female entrants is remarkably similar to that for male entrants, the corresponding percentages being 23·1, 35, 27·7, 11·25, and ·3 per cent. If we take the social classes of the Registrar-General, then the figures¹ are:

	Men.	Women.
Class 1 . . .	32·2	32·2
Class 2 . . .	30·5	32·7
Class 3 . . .	26·6	25·3
Class 5 . . .	10·7	9·75

TABLE II
NUMBERS TAKING THESE FIVE DEGREES, 1926-7 TO 1934-5
(a) MEN

Degree.	1926-7.	1927-8.	1928-9.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-2.	1932-3.	1933-4.	1934-5.	Total.
M.A. (Hons. & Ord.)	278	347	328	309	308	284	261	217	216	2,548
Law . . .	29	45	55	50	45	53	54	56	54	441
Medicine . . .	99	116	121	121	129	168	144	138	143	1,179
Theology . . .	12	14	14	17	22	21	14	25	28	67
Totals . . .	418	522	518	497	504	526	473	436	441	4,335

(b) WOMEN

Degree.	1926-7.	1927-8.	1928-9.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-2.	1932-3.	1933-4.	1934-5.	Total.
M.A. (Hons. & Ord.)	276	378	318	286	302	250	212	169	180	2,371
Law . . .	2	3	6	3	2	4	3	4	1	28
Medicine . . .	10	14	16	13	11	25	25	31	28	173
Theology . . .	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	4
Total . . .	288	396	340	302	315	281	240	205	209	2,576

Professor Greenwood, in his presidential address to the Royal Statistical Society in 1934, gave it as his opinion

¹ Omitting Class 4 (see page 167).

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that not more than 10-15 per cent. of all the entrants to British Universities came from the working classes (Classes 3, 4, and 5 of the Registrar-General). From this sample it would appear that approximately 36 per cent. of the entrants to these degrees come from these classes. This figure would probably not hold for the entrants to the University, because it is unlikely that 36 per cent. of those whose fathers are dead or retired will come from the working classes. Even so, Glasgow is as much a working-class University as the resort of the petty bourgeoisie (entrepreneurs, farmers, "black coats," and "own account"),¹ each claiming 36 per cent. of the entrants to these degrees.

TABLE III
CORRELATION OF PROSPECTIVE DEGREE AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION 1926-7 TO 1934-5
(a) TOTALS OF MEN ENTRANTS

Degree.	Law.	Medicine.	M.A. (Ord.)	M.A. (Hons.)	Theology.	Total.
Professional . . .	138	366	255	103	40	902
Entrepreneur . . .	62	185	131	47	8	433
Artisan	82	173	576	198	46	1,075
Black Coat	63	135	233	131	22	584
Farmer	4	18	74	5	6	107
Own Account . . .	61	206	228	98	27	620
Higher Civil Service .	9	28	27	12	3	79
Lower Civil Service .	6	21	33	11	1	72
Unskilled	16	43	275	86	13	433
Unemployed	—	4	14	11	1	30
Total	441	1,179	1,846	702	167	4,335

(b) TOTALS OF WOMEN ENTRANTS

Professional	16	75	392	57	3	543
Entrepreneur	4	32	225	29	—	290
Artisan	3	9	542	50	—	604
Black Coat	2	11	264	34	1	312
Farmer	—	4	68	5	—	77
Own Account	2	36	331	33	—	402
Higher Civil Service .	1	3	35	12	—	51
Lower Civil Service .	—	1	42	3	—	46
Unskilled	—	2	213	14	—	229
Unemployed	—	—	18	4	—	22
Total	28	173	2,130	241	4	2,576

¹ Entrepreneurs are included in the petty bourgeoisie, since there are few sons of "merchant princes" at Glasgow University.

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We have been dealing so far with the percentage of the total entrants who came from each class. We have now to examine the percentage of each class which took each degree. With the exception of the professional class,¹ more sons from each class entered for the M.A. degree than for any other. In the case of women entrants, there was no exception. The percentage of the total who took M.A. degrees varied from 40 per cent. of the total male entrants of each class in the case of professional and business classes to more than 80 per cent. in the case of unskilled and unemployed classes. For female entrants, this percentage varied from 82.7 per cent. in the professional class up to 100 per cent. in the unskilled and unemployed. Conversely, the percentages of the professional, business, and "own account" classes which entered for medicine were higher than those of the other classes (approximately 40 per cent. male and 10 per cent. female). A high percentage also of the male entrants from these three classes entered for law (10-15 per cent.), while the figures for female entrants showed the same tendency on a much smaller scale (1-2 per cent.). In short, it can be said that the figures of entrants from the first two classes, professional and business, showed a more catholic distribution between degrees than those of any other class. The entrants from other classes tended to go in very largely, and in the case of women almost exclusively, for the M.A. degrees. This was probably due to the fact that there were more opportunities, i.e. in teaching, for women with M.A. degrees than for those with medical or legal degrees; to the fact that there is a social feeling, rather negative than positive, against women ministers, lawyers, and to a lesser extent doctors, though this is decreasing; to the fact that the training for law or medicine is longer and more expensive, while remuneration does not immediately follow the completion of training, and marriage may supervene when the fruits of success are beginning to be

¹ Entrepreneurs are a borderline exception.

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enjoyed; and lastly to the possibility that law and theology are not congenial to the normal female bent.

The propensity of the bulk of the male students from classes other than the professional and business to enter for the M.A. degrees is also significant.

The best way to grasp the distribution of entrants from each class between degrees involves the construction of another table (IV (a) and (b)). The item totals of those from each

TABLE IV

CORRELATION OF PARENTAL OCCUPATION ARRANGED ACCORDING TO INCOME AND DEGREES ACCORDING TO COST

(a) MEN

	Prof.	Bus.	H.C.S.	Farm.	O.Acc.	Black Coat.	Art.	L.C.S.	Unsk.
Law . . .	51	43	37	300	-1.6	4	-25	-37	-157
Medicine . .	48	36	26	-26	21.2	-15	-38	21	33
M.A. (Hons.) .	-30	-32	—	-72	-2	41	13	-8	22
Theology . .	14	-52	—	50	12	—	7	-66	-6
M.A. (Ord.) .	-33	-29	-27	62	-14	-7	33	15	99

(b) WOMEN

	Prof.	Bus.	H.C.S.	Farm.	O.Acc.	Black Coat.	Art.	L.C.S.	Unsk.
Law . . .	166	33	50	-100	-50	-112	-54	-100	-100
Medicine . .	103	60	-16.6	-25	33.3	-48	-77	-66	-80.7
M.A. (Hons.) .	96.1	-9.6	140	-28.6	-10.8	17.2	-11.5	-25	-33
Theology . .	200	-100	-100	-100	-100	100	-100	-100	-100
M.A. (Ord.) .	-14.1	-5.5	-16.6	7.97	.33	2.3	8.5	16.6	2.9

class taking each degree were set out and the total number of entrants from each class expressed as a percentage of the gross total. If there is no correlation between degree and parental occupation, the distribution of the entrants from each class between degrees will be the same, but the fact that the actual totals differ, in some cases widely, from the theoretical figures arrived at in this way is an indication that there is some correlation between parental occupation and degree, and that correlation is, in some sort, measured by expressing the difference between the actual and theoretical item figures as a percentage of the latter. The higher is this percentage, positive or negative, the higher is the correlation between

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the two characters in question,¹ a positive figure implying a preference on the part of any class for a certain degree and a negative figure implying a negative preference or aversion.

These tables bring out more clearly what was said above—male entrants from the professional and business classes tended to go in more for law and medicine than for the M.A. degrees, but the professional entrants showed an excess over the theoretical figures, and the entrepreneurial entrants a deficit for theology. Entrants from the artisan class favoured the M.A. degrees and theology, those from the "black coat" class, the M.A. (Honours) degree. Those from the "own account" class favoured Medicine and M.A. (Honours), while the unskilled were almost confined to the M.A. degrees. The numbers involved in the case of the entrants from the farmer, higher and lower Civil Servant classes are so small that it would be unwise to stress the deviations. The female entrants from the professional and entrepreneurial classes showed much smaller deviations from the normal distribution, the only appreciable one being an excess of the professional and entrepreneurial entrants in medicine.

To an examination of the classes from which the entrants for a degree come, we must now turn. Almost 50 per cent. of the male entrants for law and medicine came from the three presumably wealthiest classes—professional, business, and higher Civil Servants, while only 20 per cent. of the entrants for M.A. degrees came from these classes. In the case of women entrants, this was also true. It was brought out more clearly here than in the last section that it is easier for a girl of Social Class 1 to break away from the main stream of entrants and go in for law or medicine than it is for a girl of any other class. 75 per cent. of the female entrants for law and 65 per cent. of the entrants for medicine came from Class 1. Conversely, only 40 per cent. of the entrants

¹ With the usual qualifications regarding small numbers.

ENTRANTS TO GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

for M.A. (Ordinary) and 30 per cent. of the entrants for M.A. (Honours) came from this class.

It has emerged that there are considerable differences in the opportunities of sons and daughters from different occupational classes to enter the professions for which the degrees of our sample are necessary preliminaries; that sons from the professional and business classes tend more than their fellows from other occupational classes to go in for law and medicine rather than for M.A. degrees; that sons from these two classes form a high percentage of the total entrants for these degrees; and that while a very high percentage of daughters from all classes took M.A. degrees, the preponderance of those who took other degrees came from the professional and business classes.

If degrees are ranged in order of cost (including an element for the cost of post-graduate training or for waiting for remuneration) and parental classes according to an arbitrary estimate of modal income, the vertical classification being that of degree, in descending order of cost from the top, and the horizontal classification, that of parental occupation, in descending order of income, from left to right, then reading horizontally, the percentage deviations run from the highest positive to the highest negative, almost isotropically in every case, from left to right in the case of the more costly degrees and from right to left in the case of the less costly, indicating that parental wealth largely determines the profession of the child.

Broadly, it is true that the wealthier classes preferred the more costly degrees, and the poorer classes the cheaper degrees, but there are certain exceptions, such as the decided preference for the M.A. (Honours) degree on the part of students from the "black coat" class, or the paucity of prospective divines among the students from the entrepreneur class, which suggest that besides this negative aspect, the parental class of the prospective professional man or woman exercises a positive directive influence in his future career.

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COMPARISON OF PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR CONDITIONS

The aim here is to compare, in the pre-War and post-War periods, the total number of students, the way in which each class is represented in that total, and the way in which the entrants from each class distribute themselves between degrees.

Unfortunately, the statistics compiled for the pre-War years were not all that could be desired, since the period covered only two years. A longer period would admittedly have given a firmer basis of fact, especially if a full trade cycle could have been included, but the time involved in the extra work precluded the collection of additional statistics. This disability was to some extent overcome by comparing the pre-War period 1911-13 with a post-War period 1926-9, in which there were few disturbances. Secondly, the statistics were based on the totals of students engaged in taking a degree, not on the totals of entrants. This did not preclude comparability, since corresponding figures were available for the post-War period, but it meant that the units used here were different from those used elsewhere, being student years.

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE MATRICULANTS 1926-7 TO 1929-30 WITH 1911-13
(a) MEN

	Prof.	Bus.	Art.	B.L.C.	Farm.	O.Acc.	H.C.S.	L.C.S.	Unsk.	Unemp.	Total.
<i>Law</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	102	52	48	34	4	32	7	2	6	1	288
Average 1911-13 .	45	32	21	20	3	30	2	1	2	1	157
<i>Medicine</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	279	169	113	85	14	114	22	10	20	3	829
Average 1911-13 .	161	120	53	32	10	70	9	3	6	—	464
<i>Arts</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	128	75	236	143	17	102	12	10	94	15	832
Average 1911-13 .	157	75	135	64	25	101	11	5	55	—	628
<i>Theology</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	32	12	30	13	8	12	2	1	8	—	118
Average 1911-13 .	7	6	14	3	3	3	—	1	5	—	42
<i>Total</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	541	306	427	275	43	260	43	23	128	19	2,067
Average 1911-13 .	370	233	223	119	41	204	22	10	68	1	1,291

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(b) WOMEN

<i>Law</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	10	6	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	18.5
Average 1911-13 .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Medicine</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	55	28	6	9	2	17	—	—	3	—	120
Average 1911-13 .	25	13	3	3	1	7	—	—	—	—	52
<i>Arts</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	201	124	223	119	29	102	4	7	58	8	875
Average 1911-13 .	100	67	78	71	13	53	1	22	—	—	405
<i>Theology</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	1	—	25	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.5
Average 1911-13 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Total</i>											
Average 1926-9 .	267	158	230	129	31	120	4	7	61	8	1,015
Average 1911-13 .	125	80	81	75	14	60	1	22	—	—	458

The average number of students in our sample engaged in taking these five degrees increased from 1,291 (men) and 458 (women) in the period 1911-13 to 2,069 (men) and 1,015 (women) in the period 1926-9, an increase of 60 per cent. in the case of men and 122 per cent. in the case of women.¹

Entrants to every degree increased, but at varying rates. Law, medicine, and theology constituted higher percentages of the total than in pre-War days, and the percentage taking arts degrees fell somewhat. In the case of female students, the bulk still continues to take arts degrees, but there has been a slight falling off in the percentage of arts degrees in the total due to the slightly faster growth of the numbers taking the other degrees.

Taking the degrees of our sample as a whole, the average annual number of students from each occupational class increased as follows:

¹ The rise in the total numbers taking these degrees was somewhat greater, especially in the case of men, the reason being a considerable increase, relative to the total number of students in the numbers whose fathers were dead or retired. This rise was especially noticeable in the case of those taking arts degrees and particularly in the case of men.

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	Men.	Women.
Professional . . .	371 to 541	125 to 267
Entrepreneur . . .	233 to 308	80 to 158
Artisan . . .	223 to 427	81 to 230
Black Coat . . .	119 to 275	76 to 129
Farmer . . .	42 to 43	15 to 32
Own Account . . .	205 to 260	59 to 120
Higher Civil Service .	22 to 43	1 to 5
Lower Civil Service .	11 to 23	— to 8
Unskilled . . .	68 to 128	23 to 61
Unemployed . . .	— to 19	— to 9

The working classes, skilled and unskilled, together with the "black coat" class, show the greatest proportionate increases and account for a greater proportion of the total of students, in the case of both men and women. The artisan class supplies more students, male and female, than any other class except the professional. The professional and entrepreneur classes, though their numbers increased, lost ground relatively, comprising only 40 per cent. of the total as against 46·8 in pre-War years in the case of men and 41·9 per cent. as against 44·7 per cent. in the case of women. It is interesting to note that daughters of the "black coat" class, in contrast to their brothers, increased more rapidly than the daughters of artisans.

Our next object is to observe the changes in the distribution between degrees of the entrants from each parental class. The numbers from the professional and entrepreneur classes entering law, theology, and medicine have increased, despite the fact that the total of entrants from these classes has not grown so quickly as the gross total of entrants. There has been a redistribution of these entrants favourable to law and medicine, and in the case of professional entrants, to theology also. In the case of other classes (except "own account"), but especially those of artisan and "black coat," the growth in medicine and theology, and in the case of the former, law, is due mainly to the increase in the entrants from these classes, for, if anything, entrants to the M.A.

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degrees grew more slowly than entrants to the other degrees.

The main feature of the change in the distribution of female entrants between degrees is similar to that observed for male entrants in direction but not in magnitude. The percentage taking M.A. has fallen very slightly, while law has gained, medicine being steady, but the gains and losses have been trifling. The great majority of all classes enter for the M.A. degrees, but this percentage is lower for the professional and entrepreneur classes than for the others, and lower also than it was in the pre-War period. As in the case of male entrants, the chief gainers in entrance to law were the professional and entrepreneur classes. Probably this tendency is due to the changed and changing social attitude towards lady doctors, lawyers, and ministers, and if so, we should expect it to continue.

We can sum up our findings by saying that the chief feature emerging from this comparison is the very considerable increase in the numbers of students, especially women students. All classes shared in this increase, which, however, was greatest in the artisan, unskilled, and "black coat" classes, in the case of both male and female students. The numbers engaged in taking each of the five degrees rose, though the increase was smaller proportionately in the arts degrees, particularly in the case of male students, than in the other degrees. The professional and entrepreneur students showed an increased tendency to prefer the faculties of law and medicine.

(To be Concluded)

GEOGRAPHY IN RELATION TO NATIONAL AND LOCAL SENTIMENT

By HENRY A. MESS

On alien ground, breathing an alien air,
A Roman stood, far from his ancient home,
And, gazing, murmured, " Ah, the hills are fair,
But not the hills of Rome ! "

Descendant of a race to Romans kin,
Where the old son of Empire stood, I stand.
The self-same rocks fold the same valley in,
Untouched of human hand.

Over another shines the self-same star,
Another heart with nameless longing fills,
Crying aloud, " How beautiful they are,
But not our English hills ! "

MARY E. COLERIDGE: *Where a Roman Villa stood above Freiburg.*

I

THE lines quoted above form a convenient introduction to the theme I am to develop. They expound, very charmingly, a commonplace: the pride and deep satisfaction most of us feel in a type of landscape with which we are peculiarly familiar, which we feel to belong to us as we to it; usually we have such feelings about the landscapes of our childhood. We may travel far, we may admire other types of scenery, we may admit that other scenery is more beautiful, but no other kind of scenery induces the same kind of emotion in us. Sometimes the very beauty of other scenery becomes distasteful to the exile; the Englishman in Italy is the more homesick at sight of the " gaudy melon flower " (Browning).

These strong sentiments are not merely associated with the homes of our childhood, or with our present homes, and a few miles round them; they are, as we know, incorporated into sentiments of a more complex character: national sentiments, provincial sentiments, imperial sentiments. Illus-

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trations of this come readily to our minds: Englishmen will think of John of Gaunt's dying speech in Shakespeare's *Richard II*; foreigners will think of their own patriotic literature. Local sentiment, as apart from and subordinate to national sentiment, has often taken in England the form of county sentiment; and it is interesting to note the varied strengths or weaknesses of local pride and local patriotism in the different counties of England. Sussex, Devonshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland are among the counties with a very strong consciousness and pride; there are other counties—it is perhaps better not to name them—where consciousness and pride are comparatively weak.

There are other subordinate local sentiments beside county sentiments. There are the easily felt local sentiments of North and South, and in these the broad contrast between rough England and smooth England plays a considerable part. And there is the West Country. There are similar sentiments in other countries: between North and South in France, between West and East in Norway; and Robert Louis Stevenson in one of his essays¹ has expressed and sharpened for us the contrast which we feel between the Northern countries of Europe and the Mediterranean countries.

Very different geographical features may become incorporated in these sentiments, and different aspects of these features will be emphasized at different times. Sea and mountains obtrude themselves on man's notice; naturally they figure prominently in national and regional patriotic literature. "This precious stone set in the silver sea" (Shakespeare), "The heather and the weather and the sea" (Durham song), "Elskede land med de skyhoie Bjerger, Frugtbare Dale og fiskrige Kyst"² (Bjerregaard's *Sons of Norway*), "Caledonia, stern and wild" (Scott) as against the softer landscapes of England. Sometimes it is a great

¹ *Virginibus Puerisque*: Ordered South.

² Beloved land with sky-high mountains, fertile valleys, and sea teeming with fish.

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river which features largely: the Volga, the Danube, the Rhine. Or one dominating mountain or hill: Fujiyama, Arthur's Seat, the Wrekin, Dover cliffs. "The Rock" (of Gibraltar) is, I think, a prominent feature in most British thought of the Empire. Soils of various kinds make their claim on our affections: sandstone, limestone; my own heart leaps up whenever I see the chalk. Climate, of course: Australians who visit England pine for the hard sunshine and blue skies of home; my students from Canada or Finland long for crisp, dry cold; whilst on the other hand, Llewellyn Powys after five years in America wrote:

"I longed for the smell of West Country hedges, for the smell of bramble leaves and dock leaves and ditch cool grasses, limp with the soft enervating odorous dampness of an Island night in June."¹

This passage, and some previous passages, have indicated the part played by vegetation, closely conditioned of course by soil and climate, in the formation of national and other local sentiments. "Land of brown earth and shaggy wood" (Scott); "I never get between the pines, but I smell the Sussex air" (Belloc). And any exile who analyses his or her feelings will tell you that one of the deep hungers is to see the characteristic vegetation of the homeland. The English Lake District has much in common with parts of Norway, but the vegetation is different; there are more deciduous trees in the valleys; and there is a different undergrowth on the hillsides, less juniper; and on the heights dwarf willow is rare, dwarf birch absent. Differences in fauna, again related to geographical conditions, are also perceived or half perceived and enter into the malaise of the exile, into the content of the native, the joy of the returned traveller. The first colonists in Australia missed the English songbirds.

Food is determined to some extent, though much less than formerly, by geography; and it is notorious that strong sentiments grow up round food and the social customs

¹ Quoted in John M. Gaus's *Great Britain, a study in Citizenship*.

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attaching to it. Roast beef and Yorkshire pudding have an emotional value to an Englishman; they are part of the England he knows and loves, just as spaghetti and garlic have an emotional value to an Italian and are part of his Italy. And as a strong pleasant emotion attaches to our customary food, so also, especially with unsophisticated persons, a strong sentiment of dislike is often felt towards foreigners' food. In the eighteenth century the English dislike for and contempt of the French is interwoven with a dislike for and contempt of their food. And I have heard English dock labourers express antipathy towards Lascars on the ground of the horrible messes they ate. But the coming of quick and cheap transport has lessened very much the determination of diet by geographical factors; we may note, for instance, that the Englishwoman abroad misses tea more than any other item in diet.

Buildings are more dependent, even to-day, on local circumstance: transport of building material is costly; and the nature of the soil, the contours, and the climate suggest, if they do not dictate, specific ways of building. A Suffolk village is built differently from a Westmorland village; an Italian village is built very differently from either. Here again, differences are less than they used to be. But differences remain, and are likely to remain. And sentiments attaching to distinctive types of building are incorporated into national and local sentiment.

Clothing, even more than food or buildings, has ceased in civilized communities to be dependent upon local supplies; we in England have drawn our raw material from all over the world, and we have sent cloth and clothing all over the world. Still, climate does affect clothing, as it affects diet. But in the main, differences in clothing are cultural and customary rather than dictated by geographical necessities, and the differences have been diminishing rapidly in recent years. Around clothing, as around food, sentiments form; we find foreign clothing picturesque or slightly ridicu-

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lous; at all events we feel, as well as see, that it is foreign, and the perception and emotion help to mark off the wearer from us and from our kind.

One of the points of contact between geography and sociology is the study of location, and especially of isolation, in its bearings upon human society. Modern facilities of communication tend, as we have already noted, to smooth out differences in those features of human life which are partly geographical and partly cultural. The differences are more likely to persist in regions difficult of access. Location affects also such a matter as hospitality; customs with regard to visiting are considerably different in countries where there is a scattered population, living without easy means of communication, and in such a country as ours. And differences with regard to hospitality customs are keenly perceived by visitors from abroad. But it must not be thought that such differences can be explained entirely in geographical terms.

It would be easy to amplify and to improve this list and these illustrations of geographical elements entering into national and local sentiment. The point to which I now want to direct attention, and it has already emerged, is that geographical factors and cultural factors become intimately intermingled. We cannot explain food customs or building customs or clothing customs without reference to geographical conditions, but also we cannot explain them wholly by geographical conditions. And this blending of natural and cultural elements is obviously true of landscape, so powerful an element in sentiment. It is well recognized by geographers that much of the landscape we see, at least in a country with an old and advanced civilization, is artefact. Man has profoundly changed the original appearance of the countries he lives in; he has drained swamps, cleared forests, built sea walls, made roads and pathways. The effect produced upon us to-day by the banks of the Moselle or by the shores of Lake Geneva is in part due to their terracing; the slopes of

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many Italian hills have been altered in appearance by irrigation channels. The term "cultural landscape" is sometimes applied to the combination of natural data and of man's work.¹ And it is the cultural landscape which is perceived; it is only the few who analyse it into its components. The Pool of London is deeply impressed upon the memories of a vast number of Londoners, of Englishmen; river and banks are not separate in those impressions from buildings and ships. Scotsmen, and especially citizens of Edinburgh, think of the Castle on the Rock; nature's provision and man's construction are blended inseparably in those thoughts. And we can all think of cases where railway viaducts, or canals, or windmills form integral parts of the landscape.

2

Our perceptions of landscape and of the other geographical elements in our environment are much heightened by the work of artists and writers, men and women of unusually keen sensibilities and with a gift of communicating to others what they perceive and feel. Our village, our countryside, our city becomes more vivid to us when we have seen a painting of it or read a description of it. The county of Sussex has been specially favoured by the attentions of the poets, and consciousness of its distinctive charm has been correspondingly heightened. A. E. Housman has made us aware of Shropshire. Thomas Hardy has made Dorset, or rather the whole South-West of England, Wessex, more vivid to us. Sometimes there is a deliberate, almost competitive, writing up of a district; I have that feeling about A. S. Cripps's poem on Essex. And certainly the champions of nationalism, imperialism, and other causes have been ready to use the writer and the artist for propagandist purposes. Mr. Belloc has satirized this process very amusingly in his *Emmanuel Burden*.

And, clearly, national sentiments and many other terri-

¹ *Man's Adaptation of Nature: Studies of the Cultural Landscape*, by P. W. Bryan.

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torial sentiments could not arise of themselves out of geographical conditions, even if we interpret geographical conditions in the sense of cultural landscapes and all the other modifications of natural conditions which man's work has made. Spontaneous sentiments of any strength would only be generated for most men in respect of the country within a few miles round the home, and in so far as these sentiments were common to a group it would probably be a face to face group. A few travellers might form sentiments with regard to wider areas; and as we are all travellers nowadays, the region with regard to which we might form sentiments of any strength would be considerably wider than in former days. But the sentiments arising out of geographical conditions, and in particular out of scenery, could not by themselves develop into an English sentiment or a French sentiment. There are many kinds of scenery in England: limestone country, weald, the mountains of the Lake District, the Fens, and much else. Even within a county there may be a wide variety; in Sussex, for instance, there is, as well as the Downs, a good deal of marshland, and there is the very different scenery of the north-east of the county. As an Englishman I take a pride and feel a joy in the Chiltern Hills, the Warwickshire lanes and copses, Romney Marsh, and the Lake District; they are all English scenery. But the emotions they arouse are incorporated in one powerful sentiment because I have a conception of England; they could not of themselves create in me that conception of England, that sentiment about England. They could at most contribute to it; we must look elsewhere, or at least for other elements, to explain why England and English landscape seem to me to have a unity. And a Frenchman, or a Belgian, or the inhabitant of any other country is in like case.

And here we come to a real difficulty; and one which has not, so far as I know, received adequate attention from either sociologists or geographers. What is a country? Or, if you prefer it, what is a land? We speak of love of

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country,¹ love of land. But what is the land we are to love? What are its limits? How have they been determined?

The modern geographer, if I am rightly informed, repudiates liability to define "country." "Natural regions" he knows, and will attempt to define and to map out. But "country" is a political term; he refers us to the political scientists. Isn't England the area in which the English nation lives? Isn't Germany the area whose inhabitants are citizens of the German Reich? We turn, therefore, to the political scientists and put the questions to them. What is a nation? What is a State?

The best-known definition of nation is that of Sir Alfred Zimmern:

"I would define a nation as a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity, related to a definite home country."²

Or take Bluntschli's definition of a State:

"die politisch-organisierte Volksperson eines bestimmten Landes."

In either case we are thrown back on a conception of country or land, of a definite territorial area.

There are few, if any, definitions of State which dispense with references to territorial area. Even if there should be no reference in the definition, it remains a matter of general acceptance that "dominion over a determined territory" is one of the attributes of a fully developed State.³

Now it can scarcely be maintained that a country or land is nothing else than the area within which a State has control. Few would deny that Wales is a country; few would say that Great Britain and Northern Ireland is a country. Clearly, the concept of country or land is more closely bound up

¹ The term "country" is ambiguously used in English, sometimes of persons and sometimes of land. In such an expression as "the Prime Minister has the country behind him," it is clearly used of persons, of the nation. But when we say that the density of population in this country is 675 persons per square mile, it is clearly used of land. In this article it is used in the second sense.

² *Nationality and Government*, p. 52.

³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "State."

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with nation than with State. Nor are the citizens of a State merely a body of men and women united in common subordination to that State; they are usually and by priority a nation or a group composed of nations or of parts of nations. Nationality and Statehood are certainly distinct; but the concept of State cannot be divorced entirely from the concept of nation. So that whether we attempt to define country (land) by reference to nation or to State, we are thrown back again upon a concept of a territorial area whose definition must presumably be made in other terms. Or, a possible alternative, nation-country may be regarded as a single entity, nation being used of the personal aspect and country of the territorial aspect. But while this might ease our difficulty with regard to an established situation, it does not solve it in respect of development. It looks as if the geographers and the political scientists were leaving us with a circle in definition.

Are the geographers justified in washing their hands so completely of responsibility for defining "country" in geographical terms? It is obvious enough that the task would be difficult, that precision would not be obtainable. But the same kind of difficulty attaches to the definitions of "nation" attempted by the political scientist. An earlier generation of geographers was bolder, perhaps more rash. Miss Semple came near to a definition of country when she wrote:

"The land with the most effective geographical boundaries is a naturally defined region like Korea, Japan, China, Egypt, Italy, Spain, France or Great Britain—a land characterized not only by exclusion from without through its encircling barriers, but also by the inclusion within itself of a certain compact group of geographical conditions, to whose combined influences the inhabitants are subjected and from which they cannot readily escape."¹

I am well aware that Miss Semple's opinions are at a discount to-day. And obviously it would be easy to

¹ E. Semple, *The Influence of Geographical Environment*, p. 214.

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pick holes in her statement. But I am not convinced that it is altogether an advance in thought when the geographers abandon the attempt to describe "country" in the terms of their own science. I do not think the ordinary man is entirely wrong when he has a hazy conception of country as an entity independent of its inhabitants in any particular era and independent of their political organization. He thinks that there would be a Spain if every Spaniard perished; that there is a Palestine which has existed under different names and with different inhabitants and under different political rules; that there is a country, which you may call a sub-continent if you like, of India. "Italy," said Metternich, "is only a geographical expression." By this he meant to deny its cultural unity, its need for a single and exclusive political organization. But when Metternich denied, he asserted also. Italy had a unity of a kind. And when he said that Italy was a geographical expression, was he thinking of the fact that some fifteen hundred years or so before his time Italy had been administered for several centuries as a single political province? I think not. I think he shared the common man's idea that the peninsula protruding into the Mediterranean southward from the amphitheatre of the Alps is an area fairly clearly defined by natural features, and may for that reason be called a country.

Let me repeat that I do not underestimate the difficulties of attempting a geographical definition of country, or delimitations of particular countries. I am aware that there is no sharp natural frontier between France and Belgium or between Belgium and Germany; and that the frontier between the United States and Canada is for nearly two thousand miles a parallel of latitude. And I do not dispute the truth of Lord Curzon's dictum that (in the matter of frontiers) "the tendency of mankind has been to ignore or override nature."¹ Indeed, I am going to argue that a satisfactory definition of country cannot be obtained in terms

¹ Lord Curzon, *Frontiers*, p. 36.

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of natural features only. But, equally, I do not think that a satisfactory definition can be obtained without reference to natural features. Certainly, as matters stand, we wander round a circle.

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Let us leave this problem for the moment, to approach it later by another route. Whatever the process may be, nations do become established, united by a sentiment which includes reference to a country. And other forms of community have emerged, and presumably will emerge, with their own territories: counties, for instance. Once that has occurred, all the natural features within those areas gain an imputed unity; very different kinds of scenery are all thought of as English scenery or as Sussex scenery. In the absence of any such unifying master sentiment, mere likenesses between scenery in different parts of the world do not produce more than a faint feeling of pleasure; a Norwegian may feel a little more at home on the West Coast of Scotland than in most foreign parts, or a West Coast Scot be pleasantly reminded of home in a Norwegian fiord; but that is all: no powerful common sentiment emerges. By contrast, sentiments with regard to similar and even the same natural features may be incorporated into two or more hostile sentiments; this is especially the case with regard to the natural features of the political frontier. An obvious example is the part played by the Rhine in both French and German national sentiment. Becker writes a poem on "The German Rhine"; De Vigny replies passionately with "*Le Rhin Allemand*"; "*Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand, il a tenu dans notre verre.*"

Moreover, once the nation has become established, and more especially when a strong State has emerged, the national culture and the methods of the particular State do impart a measure of unity to diverse landscapes. English scenery has a distinctive character in spite of its geological and climatic diversity. Our system of landowning has helped

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to produce a characteristic appearance of English fields. The Hall and the vicarage, products of our social system, are important elements in English landscape, and they figure prominently in descriptions of England and in the literature of exile. Similarly, other countries have cultural elements common to landscapes otherwise diverse. The Sacro Monte, the little hill with winding road and with chapels, is a common feature of the outskirts of Italian towns. A Chinese student told me recently how she missed the shrines of her own land. One example of the way in which States stamp differences on similar landscapes will be noted by the traveller who crosses the border of Italy into the Swiss canton of Ticino. He will be conscious of something missing; there are no longer those avenues of trees, each dedicated to a dead man's memory, which are so impressive a feature of the outskirts of many Italian villages. Italy was a participant, Switzerland a neutral in the Great War.

Landscapes are altered by the work of man, and the same skeleton is differently clothed at different times. The bare Downs, so dear to Mr. Kipling and to Mr. Belloc, were not always so bare; and the Forestry Commission is busy transforming parts of England. Febvre¹ has emphasized the very different uses made of natural resources and natural opportunities at different times. Moreover, migrations of peoples, political changes, and social changes, alter the relationships between communities and natural features. Englishmen still love the oak, but they do not identify it as closely with the national fortunes as in the eighteenth century. Dover cliffs probably mean less to us to-day than in the time when the majority of those travelling abroad saw the last or first of England at Dover. Changed conditions are reflected in changed sentiments, but the time-lag is long. We still think of the old rural England as being the true England, though much of it is disappearing and much is being transformed, and though the landscape which most Englishmen

¹ L. Febvre: *A Geographical Introduction to History*.

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see on most days of their life is an industrial landscape. *Æsthetic* judgments are particularly conservative. It is only recently that writers and artists have begun to record and to communicate impressions of the beautiful elements in industrial scenes. New sentiments are continually in process of formation with regard to cultural landscapes, and with regard to geographical features in general, but it is only slowly they become stronger than the older sentiments; and the recognition of them is more tardy still.

Modern transport, as we have already said, tends to lessen local differences: much in our diet, our clothing, even in our buildings, is standardized over a large part of the world. And many more men and women than in any earlier age are familiar with many lands. All this, one might suppose, would tend to diminish national sentiment and to induce a sentiment of a more comprehensive nature. And there has been some evidence of a movement of sentiment in that direction, and that may well be the long term trend. But at present, partly because of time-lag and partly for reasons which would take us far beyond the scope of this discussion, there are few signs of nationalism becoming subordinate to sentiments attaching to wider communities and to wider areas. Indeed the present-day tendency is the reverse; for leaders of the nations, aware of the probable effects of wide contacts, are in many cases taking steps to diminish those contacts, to discourage the sentiments nascent from them, and to emphasize local and particular features and narrow loyalties.

Let us now summarize; and hope that in doing so we may obtain a little more light upon the question raised with regard to country. Geographical features of many kinds give rise to feelings which become incorporated in sentiments. In a large number of cases the feelings arise out of a blend of natural features and of man's work. Man and nature interact, nature influencing the thoughts of men, but men also modifying nature. Furthermore, this blend of natural features and of man's work is perceived and felt very differently

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according to the other ingredients in the sentiments of men; and the same applies to natural features untouched. Complex sentiments, into which these feelings about nature enter, bind men together into the communities which we call nations; and bind them also into other communities having a territorial reference.

Thus there have evolved in close interaction sentiments of men towards geographical features and of men towards men. Nation cannot be defined without reference to country; it is difficult to define country without reference to nation. In both definitions there must be recognition of subjective elements: a nation must feel itself to be a community with a peculiar character; and a country is normally felt to be such by men, and especially by one nation, which regards it not merely as the area upon which it happens to live, but as an area which has a unity and a peculiar character. In part that unity, that distinctive character is impressed upon it by the culture of its inhabitants; and it is possible for a highly developed nation-state to impress such unity and distinctiveness upon a large area of very diverse natural features. But usually, and almost indispensably, there will be some elements in its distinctiveness which will derive directly from natural features. At one extreme we may take such an area as Iceland, whose unity and distinctiveness would be unmistakable in the absence of any inhabitants; at the other extreme we may consider the British Empire, an aggregation of detached and widely differing areas upon which some small amount of likeness has been imposed by the dominant culture and government. I do not suggest that the British Empire could ever be considered a single country, but I do propose it as a limiting case of a small amount of likeness imposed upon part of the earth's surface in consequence of some measure of political and cultural unity. Obviously it is not equally easy and equally difficult for a community to stamp its character upon any kind of territory; it will set its mark more clearly upon an area which has some advantage

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of natural homogeneity and distinctiveness; and, conversely, such an area is more likely to lay hold of men's imagination than an area whose limits are merely political. Arnold Toynbee has pointed out, in his *Study of History*, that the attempt to spread a civilization over an area may be defeated ultimately by unduly difficult geographical conditions. In the same way we may say that it is not any kind of area which is suited to become a country, that is to say, the distinctive home of a distinctive community. It will be better fitted to become so, if, to adapt Miss Semple's words, there is some degree of exclusion by geographical barriers and some inclusion of a group of geographical conditions. If this analysis be correct, we require the collaboration of geographer and of social psychologist, and of historian also, to make clearer the concept of "country," and to apply it usefully to particular cases.

* * * * *

It may seem to some of my readers that a great deal of this paper has been occupied with trivialities, details of food and clothing, scraps of songs. But anyone who has attempted to analyse sentiments knows that matters trifling in themselves may play a big part in the formation of tenacious and powerfully operative sentiments. This is true of national sentiments as of other sentiments; and any contribution to the analysis of national sentiments is justified both as an addition to pure knowledge and because of its possible practical importance.

As a last word the reader may be reminded of the title, and therefore of the limitations of this paper: "Geography in relation to National and Local Sentiment." It is not concerned with the whole range of geographical influences on social life, but only with them as they operate on and through a certain kind of sentiment. Equally, it is not concerned with all the ingredients in national and local sentiments, but merely with those which are closely related to geography.

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NATIONAL INCOME AND OUTLAY. By Colin Clark. *Macmillan*, 1937. Pp. vii + 304. 12s. 6d.

No one after reading this book is likely to deny the importance of Mr. Clark's work. He has prepared estimates of the size, the distribution, and the expenditure of the national income and of the accumulation and the investment of national capital—all facts needed for a proper understanding of the working of the economic system of this country. Indeed, it is the importance of the topics he discusses which makes it perhaps to be regretted that insufficient warnings have been given to the general reader as to which are merely informed guesses and which are trustworthy estimates. Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Clark is ever ready to draw the broad generalization from what may seem to others incomplete material. The result is a book which is always interesting but is also in parts highly controversial.

After having assured us three years ago that the general principles of the estimation of the national income "were largely established" (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1934, p. 550), Mr. Clark now surprises us by adopting a new definition of national income which has the effect of raising the estimates made in his previous book on *The National Income*, 1924-31, by about 10 per cent. He argues that receipts by the Government from indirect taxation should be counted as part of the national income in the same way as the profits of a private company operating a monopoly. He seems, however, to overlook the fact that the greater part of such receipts from indirect taxation will be paid out in wages, salaries, and interest payments, which he elsewhere includes as personal incomes. There is, as Mr. Clark says, an apparent paradox in the fact that by increasing indirect taxation the Government increases the national income.

Mr. Clark's estimates of net national income (that is, after deduction of maintenance and depreciation) are £4,035 million in 1924 and £4,384 million in 1929, falling to £3,844 million and provisionally put at £4,530 million in 1935. If receipts from local rates and from indirect taxation were excluded, these estimates would be reduced in each year by about £400 million and in 1935 by an even higher amount.

He proceeds to analyse these figures for changes in the distribution of income as between wages, salaries, rents, and profits and interest, and then as between persons. He shows the proportion of wages to total income rose from 39.5 per cent. in 1911 to 42.1 per cent. in 1924 and 42.0 per cent. in 1933, and he comments on "the slight permanent rise in the proportion of the national income taken by wages." The most

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striking fact Mr. Clark brings out is the rise in the share of the national income accounted for by salaries. Comparing 1911 and 1929, "10.5 per cent. of the national income has been lost to 'profits,' of which 7.7 per cent. has been taken by higher salaries and the remainder by wages and lower salaries."

Figures of the personal distribution of income are given for 1929 and 1932. The inequality of the distribution appears to have been less in 1932 than in 1929, but this cannot be taken as part of a general tendency towards a more equal distribution, for Mr. Clark expresses the opinion (p. 110) that the inequality of distribution of income was greater in 1935 than in 1929, and also therefore than in 1932. It should be noted here that Mr. Clark is considering only gross and not net personal incomes, that is, before deduction of highly graduated income taxes and of expenses involved in earning incomes. It is, of course, impossible to specify the amount of direct and indirect taxation falling on persons in each income level. Mr. Clark has, however, attempted to measure for 1913, 1925, and 1935 the differences between the amount collected in taxation from the working class and from the "well to do," and the amount expended in public services on their behalf. He estimates that the working class contributed in 1935 79 per cent. of the cost of those services designed to benefit them. This percentage would, of course, have been lower if he had taken a year such as 1932 or 1933, when the amounts paid out in unemployment benefits were higher than in 1935. In fairness to Mr. Clark, the reader should be careful to note the assumptions on which these estimates are made (pp. 142-7).

The "well to do," according to Mr. Clark's definition (p. 142), are persons with incomes of more than £250 a year; persons with less than £250 are the "working classes." He does not, however, retain this distinction when considering changes in savings and investment later (pp. 189-93). He discusses instead the private savings of "the rich," and he reaches the remarkable conclusions that "large private incomes have ceased to count as a source of saving," and "in fact, private individuals are probably still on balance spending from their capital." These conclusions are not based on any actual evidence of the habits of saving of rich people but are inferred from the theoretical axiom that savings must equal investment, and from the fact that the undistributed profits of companies, the obligatory savings funds of local authorities and the savings of the working and middle classes are greater than investment as calculated, and the discrepancy can therefore only be explained by the rich spending from their capital.

Enough has been said to indicate the wide range of topics of general interest covered by Mr. Clark's book. It is the only book at present

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available dealing with the national income of this country in all its aspects and it deserves the careful reading of all those interested in the social structure of the United Kingdom.

H. CAMPION.

PREVENTING CRIME: A Symposium. Edited by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. *McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Ltd., Aldwych House, London, W.C.2*, 1936. Pp. xi + 509.

In his *Crime and Justice* (1936) Professor Glueck has shown up with merciless sincerity the dark spots, the "blindness" and "lameness" of American criminal justice. Now he softens his indictment by bringing before the outside world samples of the progressive and creative forces that are at present at work in the same field. His previous publications have shown him a master of organization and collaboration, and the present book exhibits the same qualities. In co-operation with Mrs. Eleanor Glueck, he has edited one of the most illuminating and stimulating works of modern penology. The book, as the editors point out, does not record all the crime-preventive experiments now being tried out in the U.S.A., but it does include ventures of a representative and promising character. Twenty-six men and women have given descriptions of the crime-preventing agencies with which they are closely connected.

The term "crime-preventing" is here used in a restrictive sense. There is no kind of punishment that does not claim to be directed towards that aim. This book, however, is not concerned with measures of the old, purely punitive type. It deals solely with crime prevention by reformation and by the improvement of the social conditions which form the chief sources of crime. It stresses, above all, the point that work of this kind can succeed only through the combined efforts of all the agencies concerned. The contributions represent seven methods of such team work, each centring around an agency of a different type. Hence, we find "Co-ordinated Community Programs," in which the community plays the predominant part, "School Programs," "Police Programs," "Intra-Mural Guidance Programs" (i.e. institutions), "Extra-Mural Guidance Programs" (describing the work of Child Guidance Clinics, Children Centres, etc.) and "Boys' Clubs and Recreation Programs." The actual differences between some of these types are not very important. In a "Co-ordinated Community Program" the community has to co-operate with the school, the police, with clubs and other social and recreational agencies, and vice-versa. Nevertheless, it cannot be overlooked that each type presents its peculiar advantages and shortcomings. The community, for instance, having ampler means and perhaps greater authority at its disposal than the school, may have to fight against many

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"divisive forces" in its midst (p. 65), the police may sometimes be hampered by a suspicious and hostile attitude on the part of the poorer classes, and so on. Fortunately, however, there is no evidence that political frictions have been allowed to creep in. As is rightly emphasized by Professor and Mrs. Glueck in their Introduction, it cannot be definitely said that any one type is always and everywhere superior to any other, or, as Thrasher puts it (p. 49), "there is no panacea for the control of crime." Much will depend upon chance which of the agencies concerned is lucky enough to have at its disposal the right person for the job. And one scheme may, in the course of its development, change its character; there are no distinct and permanent frontiers: a system which started as a Club or Recreation Program may, having proved its value, become a more comprehensive Community Program. Very seldom among the twenty-six contributions is to be found anything indicating that the author regards his particular system as the ideal one.

Two outstanding features, nevertheless, seem to come to the front: the tendency to keep the juvenile delinquent as long as possible away from the Juvenile Court, and a suspicious attitude towards large Institutions. In almost every contribution as well as in the Introduction the point is stressed that the Juvenile Court should be regarded as the ultimate resort, since it is feared that any court experiences may do more harm than good to the juvenile and because it is believed that crime prevention ought to start before a child becomes delinquent at all. This tendency frequently goes so far as officially to prevent the Juvenile Courts from dealing with a delinquent child unless he is referred to the Court by the crime-preventing agency. In New Jersey, for instance, "no police court or correctional institution will accept or consider a case involving a juvenile delinquent or maladjusted child until the Bureau of Special Service so requests" (p. 117). It is easy to see how greatly such a procedure can reduce the figures of juvenile delinquency in the criminal statistics.

As to the anti-institutional tendency, the view has been expressed (p. 303) that it may be largely due to the fact that juvenile institutions are generally under-financed and under-equipped and that the country spends for education "not in proportion to needs but in progressive disproportion to the actual needs of those to be educated—the most for those least in need and the least for those whose essential needs are greatest." If institutional care is unavoidable, preference is given to small "specialized foster-homes" of the Longview Farm, Massachusetts, type, which may perhaps be compared with the new English experiment, the so-called Q-Camps. Nevertheless, two large institutions, the

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Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, and the famous George Junior Republic, Freeville, New York, are also described in very interesting contributions.

The Crime Prevention Bureaux of New York City and of Berkeley merit special attention and even imitation. They try to overcome the well-rooted tradition that "police have nothing to do with social work," and their existence, as the editors point out, serves, among other ends, the purpose of "reinterpreting, in a socially desirable manner, the entire range of tasks of the police in the modern community. It may, in fact, do very much in improving the relations between the police and the poorer classes." Surely the difficulties will be very considerable, but the figures given for the New York Bureau show that in 1932 out of 5,631 new cases which came under the care of the Bureau, 979 were referred to it by parents and relatives (p. 223). This is interesting in the light of reports of English Chiefs of Police that, e.g., the establishment of Boys' Clubs by the police has done very much to reduce juvenile delinquency.

The various methods of dealing with criminal gangs will be of great interest to the sociologist. The aim is not simply to break up these gangs, but to transform them into "purposeful natural groups" (p. 464).

Preventive work, especially of the non-institutional type, is largely dependent upon the collaboration of the parents. The education of the parents for their task therefore forms an important part in almost all the experiments described. One of them, however, devotes itself exclusively to this object: the Parents' School of the Domestic Relations Court of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, is an experiment started by the late Judge Erwin V. Mahaffey and deals with parents of children who are on probation. Every probation officer who has to devote a considerable part of his time to overcoming the indifference to, or misunderstanding of, the child's psychology on the part of the parents would probably welcome the support of an institution of this kind.

The contributors are anxious to avoid undue optimism and make no great show of statistical successes, rightly distrusting the much too simple labels "success" and "failure." But they are confident and hopeful. It would be a mistake to dwell upon the contrast between this confidence and the extent of crime in the U.S.A. The experiments described in this book are apparently representative not of the average, but of the highest class enterprises; they do not embrace the whole country and they are, with a few exceptions, very young. When they have had time to develop and to extend their activities, they will assuredly succeed, as far as success is at all possible in this field. They are in the right way.

HERMANN MANNHEIM.

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PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION. By T. S. Simey.
Oxford University Press. 1937. 10s.

Nowadays we dislike long titles for books, but the title of this book might with advantage have been slightly lengthened so as to read, "Principles of Administration of the Social Services." For this is its subject: the social services being defined as those public services which deal with the individual and have a personal aspect, as distinct from those which are merely environmental, like street-cleansing, refuse disposal, drainage, and water supply. The chief social services, in this sense, are public assistance, education, some of the health services, unemployment relief and exchange service, national health insurance, pensions, house-property management, lunacy and mental deficiency, and the reformative services. The enlargement of the functions of government, local or central, to include services which, in varying degrees, are of a personal and intimate character, has thrown up problems of administration of a distinct type, and it is with these problems that Mr. Simey's book deals.

The word "principles" could in no case have been omitted from the title, for the book is one in which an attempt at the discovery and understanding of principles is dominant. Facts are reviewed in abundance and the author acknowledges indebtedness to the Institute of Public Administration, which enabled him to employ on preliminary research Miss May Irvine, one of his former students at Liverpool University. Nevertheless the book is essentially a search for principles among the more or less opportunist policies and practices which have accompanied the growth of the social services.

The research work has introduced into the volume a set of exceptionally interesting and illuminating footnotes, chosen with the happiest judgment, and arranged so as to illustrate and emphasize the points in the main text without swamping them, as notes based on painstaking research are apt to do.

A presentation of the "historical background" occupies about two-fifths of the book, and in this historical account of the development of social administration the interplay of principles in the courses pursued, sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious, is exhibited with acute insight and great skill. The struggle of humanitarian collectivism against an equally sincere if often obstinate individualism is shown, working itself out in detailed encounters on the field of practical administration, and in the end (or at any rate, at the present day) issuing in a common recognition of the desirability of finding a basis for the administration of the social services which shall yield a maximum of efficient management and maintain high social standards and yet keep intact the personal character of the services.

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The historical review is followed by an examination of the place which should be occupied in the administration of the social services by the central department, the local authority, and the voluntary organization respectively. Mr. Simey states in the Preface that "the writing of the book was started with, if any bias at all, a bias in favour of the central administration of the social services" and that "the general trend of a reasoned defence of the system of local government is due entirely to the operation of the compelling tendencies inherent in the subject-matter itself." In his final chapter, however, he says, "The conclusion has been arrived at that the proper functioning of local government can only be achieved under the general supervision of officers of the central government, equipped with sufficient powers to establish the 'general line' of governmental policy throughout the country, to check the impetuous, to stimulate the sluggish, and to act as a source of inspiration to the officers employed by local authorities."

This conclusion is certainly generous enough towards the central departments but it comes rather as a surprise after his generally critical attitude towards those departments. There is one element in the problem of administration which he has not analysed with the same thoroughness as he has bestowed elsewhere. A good example of such thoroughness is his examination of the proper place of voluntary associations in the national schemes, which is a searching piece of analysis. But he has not sufficiently explored the nature and extent of the changes which have taken place and are still taking place in the structure and spirit of both the central and the local authorities. Mr. Simey is inclined to present too static a view. He seems to assume that a central department must inevitably suffer from stiffness at the extremities, whereas a local authority is invariably flexible and sympathetic in its dealings with the people whom it serves. He has not investigated in any thorough manner the differences of temper and touch which undoubtedly exist, nor has he noted sufficiently the changes which show that characteristics of this kind are not to be regarded as permanent. Everybody knows, for example, that among the staff of the Post Office, the railway companies, and the income-tax offices, the flowers of courtesy and helpfulness have been made to bloom remarkably by efforts at cultivation on the part of the responsible authorities. Mr. Simey rightly comments on the constructive and stimulating character of the inspectorate of the Board of Education; but it was very different in the days of payment by results.

In the case of the local authorities, it would be interesting to know whether flexibility and sympathy are affected by size of population and extent of area, or whether they flourish equally under all types of local authority. Again, what is happening with the development of the party

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system in local affairs, the changes in type of members of councils, and the growth of urban populations with no roots in the locality in which they live? We cannot assume that virtues and vices stay put, either in central or local authorities.

With Mr. Simey's main conclusions, however, few responsible persons, either in central government or local government circles, will be found to quarrel; and to traverse with him the ground over which he has arrived at them is indeed an education in a subject which has assumed enormous importance in recent years. One is particularly grateful that he never forgets, in his investigation of social administration, that he is dealing not only with the adjustment of departmental machinery but with the adjustment of human lives.

A. J. WALDEGRAVE.

MASS OBSERVATION (Pamphlet). Mass Observation, Day-Survey, Wednesday, May 12. Faber & Faber, pp. 431. 12s. 6d.

The above-mentioned little pamphlet published in June 1937 brought mass observation for the first time under public discussion. It has recently been followed by the larger volume, also having mass observation as its title. The subject of this book is everyday life. On the twelfth of each month the observers who have enlisted under the scheme have noted how those persons with whom they were able to come into contact on that day spent their time. The chief part of the book is given to Coronation Day. A large number of newspaper extracts gives a survey of the preparations for Coronation Day; then follow the reports of the observers, giving their accounts of how people spent the day and what it meant for them. It is difficult not to be confused after having read these reports. To a certain extent they undoubtedly give a good representation of the events of the day. But the question arises, does this collective gathering of memories produce something different in kind from the individual memory of each person who took part in the events? It might probably be for all those who were not present, for those in foreign countries, and for coming generations, a very vivid description. Does it, however, give a new scientific approach? Certainly not.

The observation and description of facts within its field are the basis of every science. The book might be praised as a contribution to observation and description if the authors had not claimed too much. They seem almost to think that exhaustive observation and description are possible. This is nonsense; although the book is full of details, it cannot compete with the abundant facts and details of reality.

Further, it is the task of every science, and especially of the social sciences at this time, when social phenomena are so complex and difficult to understand, to represent reality in a simplifying, generalizing way.

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To this task mass observation contributes nothing. It is true that to abstract, one must know the complex reality with all its details. But no representation of details dispenses with the necessity for abstraction.

It seems as if the authors before starting their work have not asked themselves one single concrete question to be answered by the survey. It is therefore not too surprising that the book does not give any results.

But not only their conception of the use of data seems problematical; the method of getting those data is still more so. I have little doubt that every observer was enthusiastic about his task and wished to be quite objective and unbiased. As, however, they are all casual and untrained observers, they must show bias in their observations. They cannot be, as the authors seem to claim, quite representative of the mass of the people, for they are themselves a selected group of people, whose types would require examination; e.g. they are men who have more time and other interests than the average man has.

Are the people observed in any sense representative? What is the mass that is subject to observation? If mass means "people" or "population," we know that it consists of certain proportions of men and women, of certain age groups, of certain social and occupational groups. No steps whatsoever seem to have been taken to select representatives of these different types. Therefore any attempt to generalize from the results must be quite worthless.

It seems a pity that the promoters of mass observation have brought out this book as their first. For, as I understand it, they intend to apply different methods, and they realize the mistakes of their day-survey. It is a pity, because they contribute a very sound thought to the discussion of methods in social sciences: they stress the necessity of knowing everyday life. One has therefore to reserve a final judgment until they publish the results of their Bolton survey. I should like to suggest to them that the reader of a survey needs a statement of the problem envisaged and the questions to be answered by the survey; he wants a scientific justification of the methods applied, he wants to know how far the results are representative, he wants to know that the observers are scientifically trained, and he wants a representation of the data that leads to clear generalizations and conclusions.

MARIE JAHODA.

REINE UND ANGEWANDTE SOZIOLOGIE, EINE FESTGABE
FÜR FERDINAND TÖNNIES. Hans Buske, *Leipzig*, 1936.
Pp. vii + 403.

The present book is a collection of essays by former students and friends of the late Ferdinand Tönnies, one of the founders of German sociology. Tönnies' work and teaching formed a link between the positivistic trend

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of French sociology and the romantic tradition of the German historical sciences. Through this dual character of his work Tönnies was able to make sociology acceptable to the academic public of Germany at a time when sociology appeared to be an outlandish fashion, a concern of French, English, and American thinkers. The present contributions reflect those initial influences on contemporary German sociology. Four essays by Jahn, Meinecke, Günther, and Lowith link up modern sociological concepts with earlier thinkers of Germany and France. Essays as those of P. Hermberg on quantitative estimates, of G. Colm on the sociology of finances, of Wilbrandt on the interpretation of frequency of births, and of Heberle on horizontal mobility, proceed from measurable facts to their subjective implications. The philosophical parentage of German sociology speaks through the essays of Charlotte V. Reichenau on over-emphasis in propaganda, of H. Schmalenbach on the social prestige of age groups, and of E. Jurkat on morals in their social aspect. Thurnwalds' paper on reciprocity as a basis of group life contributes directly to Tönnies' classical subject of community and association. Essays by Boas, Steinmetz, Sorokin, Takata, W. R. Sorley, Kanellopoulos document the interest taken in Tönnies and his work outside Germany. As a collection of samples from many fields of the social sciences and from many countries the book is a good barometer of present thought and interest.

Biographical notes and a chronological list of Tönnies' publications are appended to the collection.

ERNST MANHEIM.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Bailey (S. H.). *INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN MODERN EDUCATION*. O.U.P. 15s.
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